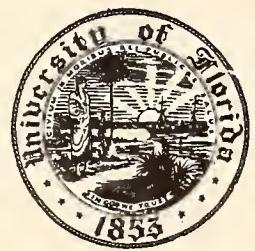


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JOHN MILTON'S COMPLETE
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IN FOUR VOLUMES
VOLUME III



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JOHN MILTON'S COMPLETE POETICAL WORKS

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A Critical Text Edition Compiled and Edited by
HARRIS FRANCIS FLETCHER

VOLUME III

THE SECOND EDITION OF PARADISE LOST

URBANA
THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS
1948

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THE SECOND EDITION OF *Paradise Lost* was published only a few months before Milton's death, and has remained a sort of stepchild of textual scholarship from that day to this. Its relations to the text of the 1667 edition have been only imperfectly understood, and little has ever been published about it since its first printing. P.[atrick] H.[ume] in 1695, Elijah Fenton in 1725, Bentley in 1732, Newton in 1749, Todd in 1801 and 1809, Masson about 1890, Beeching in 1900, Wright in 1903, Grierson in 1925, and Patterson in 1931 published editions of the poem that are all still valuable to the student of the 1674 text and its relations to that of 1667. Only Wright and Patterson provided systematic notes of the variants of the two texts. But the 1674 text is much more significant, as are the problems connected with it especially those involving its relationship to the 1667 text, than any of these editors seemed to realize. The basic text of *Paradise Lost* in so far as Milton succeeded in securing such a text, is that of 1674, restricted by the Manuscript of Book 1, and by the 1667 printed text of the entire poem. The Manuscript itself is also restricted as shown herein by the 1667 and 1674 printed texts, although these restrictions can only be seen and understood through the combined collation of the three; and in the same manner, the Manuscript somewhat restricts both the 1667 and the 1674 texts. Beyond Book 1, the text can only emerge from collation of the 1667 and 1674 texts, with close attention to both the general and the detailed effects of one on the other. It is to this complicated task that the third volume of this edition is devoted.

The smaller type of the 1674 as compared with that of 1667 makes of questionable value any attempt to do more than note recurrent broken type, as unleaded, 10 point type can vary too much because of inking, impression, looseness in the chase, the paper surface, and other causes. Copy 14 was used for most reproductions, supplemented at times from copies 2 and 11. Other special reproductions, as the notes usually indicate, are supplied from time to time as needed. The relative paucity of copies available for collation should be noted, only about a third as many as for the first edition text being located. Thus, other variants within the 1674 text may be found. Again the problem of printing the old ligatures in the notes arose, and it was still not possible, because of war conditions to secure type for all of them. Consequently, no attempt will be made now or later to use such ligatures in the letterpress of this facsimile edition.

Acknowledgment of favors received, courtesies extended, and services performed is due to all persons and institutions cited in the previous volumes. Again special mention must be made of the staunch support and encouragement unwaveringly and intelligently supplied by Dean Robert Daniel Carmichael of the Illinois Graduate School. And it is a genuine pleasure to acknowledge once more my great debt to Harrison Edward Cunningham, Director of the University Press, to Charles Everett Herman, Superintendent of the Print Shop, and to Leona Greenwood for her indefatigable aid in preparing copy. Marguerite Little also provided me with a great deal of invaluable assistance in the preparation of copy, and discovered the change on 1674 page 250 in Signature R. Grateful acknowledgment is also made to the Cambridge University Library for permission to reproduce the Elizabeth Milton receipts, and to the Bodleian Library for the Aubrey reproduction.

All references to any of Milton's prose works are to the Columbia edition and text.

The main purposes and principal aims of this volume are concerned not so much with the utter determination of exact *minutiae* of the text of *Paradise Lost* as Milton wanted that text to be, as they are with setting forth in one facsimile edition all manuscript and printed readings of the poem originating with Milton himself. It is unlikely that he could have made and caused to be recorded many changes in the 1674 printed text, as he died soon after its appearance, and

for this reason alone, probably very few of the variant or changed readings in the 1688 edition stemmed directly from the author. Recorded in one way or another in the notes of the present edition, there are many instances of readings that Milton no doubt would have changed instantly and effortlessly could he have seen them, either in 1667 or in 1674, but which, so far as we know, either were never marked for change, or if so marked, were never changed. No doubt some editors will feel as free to change these readings in the future as many have felt free to do so in the past. But I trust, perhaps fondly, that the present facsimile edition will make it impossible for future editors to ignore such textual cruxes, or, if they are editorially ignored, for the careful reader to be left without knowledge of them. The value and importance of these textual cruxes is complex, not simple. Grierson and the Columbia edition have already firmly established the value of Milton's punctuation both for the text and for the proper understanding of the poem. The difficulties which he so obviously encountered in trying to secure the punctuation that he wanted can only be appreciated by a close study of the textual notes in the second and third volumes of the present edition; and that he often failed almost dismally to secure exactly what he wanted is not only apparent from the facsimiles and their notes, but the careful editor is strictly warned by them against readily accepting any printed punctuation as being indubitably and precisely what Milton actually wanted. That is, the combined sensitivities of a Bridges and a Darbshire are required to deal adequately with many of the *minutiae* of both 1667 and 1674 texts, whether taken singly or together, and even then the results are only conjectural. As was pointed out repeatedly in the nineteenth century, Milton learned to write poetry in English by serving his poetic apprenticeship in the production of Neo-Latin verse. The results of that apprenticeship, as found in his English poems, can only be fully appreciated and understood by readers well aware of the nature of the Neo-Latin poetry of Western Europe, especially that produced in the late Renaissance period. Appreciation of Milton's English poetry as such is something else, and untold numbers of readers in the three centuries that have elapsed since it first began to appear have been enthralled by it, although frequently little enough aware of the basic metrical and poetic principles on which it was constructed. It is not necessary that a reader know Horace, Virgil, Catullus, Ovid, or Buchanan in order to be greatly moved by Milton's English poetry. But adequate understanding of what Milton was trying to do, though it can only be approximated, demands more knowledge of Neo-Latin verse of the late Renaissance and of the accepted approaches of that period to the Latin poetry of the Romans than many recent critics of Milton's English poetry have been able to supply.

One other factor of primary importance to students of the textual problems of Milton's English poems is the constant presence of the author's revisional processes. There is no doubt that, so long as he lived, Milton would have continued to revise the texts of his various poems, and this factor operated particularly on the text of *Paradise Lost*, being stopped practically with the printed text of 1674 by his death. Despite the sensitive and intelligent labors of Bridges and Miss Darbshire, in any given textual crux, certainty is impossible so far as determining exactly what Milton would have done with that crux had it been called to his attention. There is always the possibility that the particular crux under scrutiny actually was called to his attention, but that he did nothing about it. Now the round of our basic uncertainty is complete. We are, it seems to me, reduced to the fundamental necessity of making certain of what was finally printed. Beyond that point lies only conjecture.

The final text of *Paradise Lost* so far as the present edition is concerned consists of photographic facsimiles of the Manuscript of Book 1, of the printed text with all discerned variations of 1667, and of the printed text of 1674 with its variations, together with collations of the three. What emerges from this process constitutes the text of *Paradise Lost* as Milton succeeded in

transmitting it to us. The photographic facsimiles provide a much more reliable presentation of the printed texts than has hitherto been available, and they can be presented in combination with the pertinent manuscript material.

The present edition effects not so many great changes in the generally used texts of the poem, some of which are pretty bad, as it provides much greater certainty throughout the text of the poem of what the author, the compositor, and the reviser or revisers succeeded in getting printed.

All contracted book titles appearing in volume 3 will be found expanded in the Bibliography in volume 2.

LIST OF COPIES USED FOR COLLATION

THREE IS NO PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE intended by the numbers accorded different copies of the second edition except that the first thirty numbers have been reserved for Illinois copies and numbers above thirty for copies, or photographs, films, or photostats of copies, elsewhere. This list is not intended as a complete census of existing copies.

ORIGINAL COPIES

There are twenty-two copies at Illinois, numbered from 1 through 22. Numbers 8 and 18 are imperfect, number 18 having the U Signature supplied from a copy of the third edition, 1678. All but numbers 5, 6, 8, 9, and 18 contain the portrait.

ORIGINAL OR PHOTOGRAPHIC COPIES EXAMINED NOT BELONGING TO ILLINOIS

Number 31	Boston Public Library. G.408.53.	Number 46	Michigan University. PR.3560.A ²
Number 32	British Museum. 1076.f.20. Photostat.	Number 47	New York Public Library. 1674 ¹ .
Number 33	British Museum. 684.d.31.	Number 48	New York Public Library. 1674 ² .
Number 34	Bibliothèque Nationale (France). Yk.838.	Number 49	Newberry Library (Chicago). Y185.M 6567.
Number 35	John Carter Brown Library. T70.	Number 50	Oxford Bodleian Library. 12.θ.1123.
Number 36	Cambridge University. Syn.7.67.50.	Number 51	Princeton. Ex 3859.369.
Number 37	Cambridge University, Trinity College. Cap.W.4.	Number 52	Princeton. Ex 3859.369.138.
Number 38	Cambridge University, Trinity College. H.21.3 ¹ .	Number 53	Texas. Aitken. Aj.M 642.667pb.
Number 39	Chicago University. PR.3560.	Number 54	Texas. . . . Copy 2.
Number 40	Columbia University. B 823M64.U52.	Number 55	Texas. . . . Copy 3.
Number 41	Harvard. 14486.3A.	Number 56	Texas. . . . Copy 4. (Lacks pages 209-210.)
Number 42	Harvard. 14486.3B.	Number 57	Wellesley College.
Number 43	Harvard. Aldrich. 155.10.7.	Number 58	Western Reserve University (Cleveland). 821.472 Pl. Imperfect.
Number 44	Huntington. 105639.	Number 59	Yale. Z77.162.
Number 45	Huntington. 105658.		

PART I
THE COMPOSITION, PRINTING, AND
PUBLICATION OF THE 1674 EDITION

I.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALS

THE SECOND EDITION OF *Paradise Lost* was printed by Samuel Simmons, the owner of the copyright and printer of the first edition, and offered for sale in 1674. These facts we learn from the 1674 title page. Several other facts are known about the second edition; but the full and exact history of the printing and publication of this edition is shrouded in uncertainty, if not mystery. Thus, it was almost exactly seven years after the first edition appeared, and five years after it was sold out, before publication of a second edition was even begun, and reasons for this seeming delay can only be conjectured. There is now no way of knowing whether Simmons, the printer, or Milton, the author, was principally responsible for initiating the second edition. The format of this edition of the poem, despite the fact that in it the poem contains more lines than in the first edition, is smaller than the format of the first edition; but the reasons for the selection of the smaller format are completely unknown. The second edition was in general a better printed book than the first edition, but was still far from being as well printed as it very easily could have been. The third edition, that of 1678, was printed for reasons entirely unknown, and we have no records at all of any negotiations regarding it with the widow or anyone connected with her. We know almost nothing with certainty about the number of copies printed or sold of either the second or the third edition, except that the number of surviving copies can perhaps be used as a basis for an unstable estimate as was suggested in connection with the first edition, 1667. But all certainty concerning the actual number of copies printed is lacking.

Probably most of the uncertainty and mystery, if it is mystery, connected with the second edition can never be satisfactorily removed, for not even the facts themselves are clear in their relationships and implications. Editors of the poem generally have been extremely reticent in their brief accounts of the printing and publication of this edition, and the early biographers have little to say about it. The chief reason for this condition seems to have been that the edition was almost completely taken for granted, and little or no contemporary effort made to record its history, rather than that there was any deliberate intent of concealment or mystification. Attempts to provide an adequate account of the edition today, nearly three hundred years after its appearance, can scarcely be expected to clear away many of the accumulated uncertainties. But such attempts can be inclusive and provide something like all the available information. The least, and perhaps the most, that can be done about the matter is to assemble all the known facts in their proper chronological order, and to add to them the pertinent statements of the early biographers and other contemporaries concerning the publication of the second edition. And from this relatively small mass of factual material must be derived about all that can be ascertained today concerning this edition.

The earliest mention of a second edition of the poem is found in the contract of 27 April 1667, in the provision therein for the possibility of a second and even a third 'Impression,' see my volume 2:112-13, 'the said Samll Symōns . . . shall also pay other five pounds . . . at the end of the second Impression . . . And five pounds more at the end of the third Impression . . .' These second and third 'Impressions' could be published, at Simmons' discretion, after sale of thirteen hundred copies each of the first and second editions respectively, and Milton was to

have a full accounting of the sales at the 'end' of each such edition, or at any other time it was called for by him. This arrangement for later editions was, however, scarcely specific, entirely depending as it did upon sales of the book.

Conditions that were eventually to bring the second edition into being were established almost exactly two years after the contract was signed. The first edition was sold out by 26 April 1669, the date on the extant receipt, witnessed by Edmund Tipton, signed for Milton perhaps by Tipton, and acknowledging payment of the five pounds called for in the contract at such time as the first edition was sold out, see my volume 2:210. As pointed out in connection with the discussion of the publication and sale of the first edition, see my volume 2:107-8, for two or three years before 1670 the printer-publisher Samuel Simmons was in trouble with the authorities probably for publishing 'seditious' (dissenting and even Quakerish) pamphlets. But Simmons was at this same time printing other pamphlets and books and planning to print many more. About 1650, Samuel's uncle, Matthew Simmons, had begun printing in quarto parts, the 'Expositions' on the book of *Job* written by Joseph Caryl, the first of these verse by verse and even word by word expository treatments having appeared in 1643, printed by G. Miller. Caryl (1602-1673) was the non-conformist preacher who had served as licenser for the Long Parliament, 'conferr'd with' by Milton in *Colasterion*, in 1645. The 'Expositions,' printed by the Simmons family or by other printers, seem to have been published about as rapidly as the author could finish his expositions of a few consecutive chapters at a time, see my volume 2:108. When Matthew Simmons died in 1654, Caryl had by no means finished his work, and the 'Expositions' as printing property passed to Mary Simmons, Matthew's widow. As these 'Expositions' directly affected Samuel Simmons and their publication may even have been largely instrumental in determining the exact time at which the second edition of *Paradise Lost* was printed and published, a more detailed account of their printing history is pertinent here. The recent publication (1945) by Donald Wing of the first volume of *A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England . . . 1641-1700*, makes the full history of these 'Expositions' by Caryl more readily available than in the past. This is scarcely the place for a full history of the printing by all printers of Caryl on *Job*; but the acquisition of Caryl's *Job* by the Simmons family is important to Samuel and hence to us. Wing number C765 (1650) seems to have been the earliest portion of the Caryl 'Expositions' printed by a Simmons, and the last of their quarto printings of three or four chapters seems to have appeared in 1671, see Wing number C766, printed by 'S. Simmons.' Then in the *Term Catalogues* volume 1:83, for Trinity Term ending 10 July of the same year, 1671, appeared an advertisement announcing the availability of the Caryl 'Expositions' complete in quarto:

There is lately Reprinted several Volumes of Mr. Caryl's Exposition on *Job*; so that now the whole work is compleat in Twelve Volumes. Price, bound, 4l. Sold by George Sawbridge, Edward Thomas, Robert Clavell, Richard Chiswell, Rob. Boulter, Tho. Passenger, Tho. Sawbridge, and William Whitwood.

According to Wing's numbers, Samuel Simmons had reprinted some of the quarto volumes that were out of print in order to make a complete set, and, if the above Advertisement can be completely trusted, the whole twelve volumes were in print in or about 1671 in quarto. The University of Illinois Library has part of such a synthetic set of these quarto editions, with two separately printed sections bound together, the bindings being old, and one or two of the volumes having ancient volume numbers drawn on their backbones by hand. It should be noted that Wing's listings of Caryl on *Job* are neither complete nor entirely accurate, as the material has been so little collected and the quarto printings apparently so popular that it is doubtful if it would be possible today to reconstruct completely either the entire work in quarto or all forms of its issues.

Samuel Simmons' next move with the Caryl material, perhaps about the time of Caryl's death, was to announce his intention to reprint the entire set of 'Expositions' in folio, as indicated by the Advertisement of the autumn of 1673 cited in my volume 2:108. By 1673, Samuel had begun a series of moves connected with the publication of Caryl on *Job* that certainly from that time on governed his fortunes as a printer and publisher for the rest of his life, may eventually have bankrupted him, and which with equal certainty may have affected greatly the printing and publication of the second and probably the third edition of *Paradise Lost*. Not all of Samuel's moves at that time, about 1670 and 1671, can be recovered, and their exact chronology cannot be precisely determined; but on 5 May 1673, Mary Simmons had sold to Samuel her entire interest in the Caryl book stock, see the *Stationers' Registers, 1640-1708*, volume 2:459:

Master
Sam. Symons Entered . . . by vertue of an assignemt under the hand and seale
of MARY SYMONS, bereing date the thirtith day of Aprill 1673, and unto
which assignement the hand of Master Warden MEARNE is subscribed,
all her estate, right, tytle, claime, interest & demand, of, in, and to
severall coppies or booke, consisting of twelve parts or volums, being
an *Exposicon on the whole booke of JOB*, composed by Joseph Carill. . vj^d

Samuel was planning expansion of his printing business, and the Caryl stock was to be one of his major projects. Simmons' name had seldom occurred in the pages of the relatively new *Catalogue of Books*, or *Mercurius Librarius*, begun in 1668 by John Starkey or by Robert Clavell, or by both, other printers, who were also booksellers, being much more greatly favored by Starkey and Clavell than was Simmons in this respect, see Arber, *Term Catalogues*, volume 1:x, 'It claims to be "A Catalogue of Books printed and published at London": but the Editors quietly suppressed the names or initials of nearly all the Letterpress Printers, who did not often sell the books that they produced.' Perhaps Simmons wished to overcome this difficulty, for sometime in 1673, he printed for Robert Clavell, *A Catalogue of all the Books Printed in England since the Dreadful Fire of London in 1666. To the End of Michaelmas Term, 1672.* In the Michaelmas Term Catalogue, 1673, see *Term Catalogues*, volume 1:159-60, his plans for the Caryl material and stock are made clear, for therein appeared the advertisement of the projected folio volumes of the complete expositions on *Job*, to be sold by subscription by Simmons himself, see my volume 2:108-9. This announcement committed Simmons to an enterprise that must immediately have taxed his printing and financial resources to the utmost, but which probably drained both rather slowly, as Mary Simmons' printing property could still have been considerable, and she doubtless backed him with the Caryl folio as she had backed him before with other publications. Also it is evident from the known dates connected with the two publications, Caryl on *Job* and *Paradise Lost* 1674, beginning in 1673 and continuing into 1676, that their actual printings overlapped in point of time. Simmons apparently began the process of publishing the second edition of *Paradise Lost* before he offered the completed Caryl for sale, and probably after the time when he began to assemble and print that work.

Then, on 17 April 1674, there appeared in the Stationers' *Registers*, the following entry, see *Stationers' Registers, 1640-1708*, volume 2:479:

Masson, see *Life*, volume 6:708 ff., more unsuccessfully than unconvincingly, made the entire episode of Dryden's 'tagging' of the poem an exceedingly important factor in the actual publication of the second edition of *Paradise Lost*. But, because the facts are few though well known,

there is little more than Masson's conjectures to unite the two events. Aubrey (see also Miss Darbshire, *Early Lives*, page 7) recorded the beginning of this episode as follows:

Jo: Dreyden Esq Poet Laureate, who very
much admires him: & went to him to have leave to
putt his Paradise-lost into a Drama: M Milton received
him civilly, & told him he would give him leave to tagge
his Verses: —

TRANSCRIPTION

Jo: Dreyden Esq Poet Laureate, who very
much admires him: & went to him to have leave to
in Rhyme
putt his Paradise-lost into a Drama: M Milton received
him civilly, & told him he would give him leave to tagge
his verses.

— Bodleian Manuscript Aubrey 8, f.63v.

For some unknown reason, the publication of Dryden's 'opera' was not forthcoming. The earliest known edition of the work in printed form is dated 1677 with the title, *The State of Innocence, and Fall of Man*, Wing D2372. See W. J. Lawrence in *London Times Literary Supplement*, August 6, 1931, page 606, 'Dryden's Abortive Opera' for some interesting speculations on the delay in publication and G. W. Whiting, *ibid.*, January 14, 1932, page 28. But support for Masson's most telling speculations regarding the connections between the manuscript copies of Dryden's play and the second edition of *Paradise Lost* are to be found in those lines of Andrew Marvell's commendatory verses prefacing that edition of the poem, in which he is at pains to mention

. that some less skilful hand
.
Might hence presume the whole Creations day
To change in Scenes, and show it in a Play.

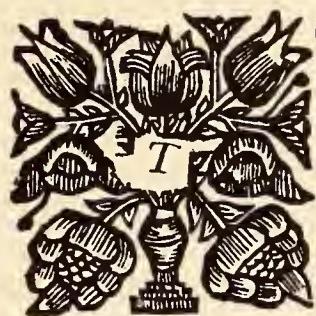
That is, Masson assumed, see *op. cit.*, page 710, no doubt correctly, that Marvell had seen Dryden's 'tagged' version before the verses prefixed to the second edition of *Paradise Lost* were written, and his reaction to that version is recorded in those lines quoted above. There is no particular mystery about the form in which Marvell could have been acquainted with Dryden's play, as in the 'Authors Apology for Heroique Poetry; and Poetique Licence.' which Dryden prefixed to the 1677 edition of the play, he explained why 'I publish an OPERA which was never acted.' He further stated that in addition to being 'desirous to lay at the feet of so Beautiful and Excellent a Princess, [Mary of Modena, Duchess of York] a Work which I confess was unworthy her,' he was

also induc'd to it in my own defence: many hundred Copies of it being dispers'd, abroad without my knowledge or consent: so that every one gathering new faults, it became at length a Libel against me; and I saw, with some disdain, more nonsense than either I, or as bad a Poet, could have cram'd into it, at a Months warning, in which time 'twas wholly written, and not since Revis'd.

The entire first page of Dryden's 'Apology' is presented here in photographic facsimile, although the last four lines refer to the immediately preceding encomium by Nathaniel Lee 'To Mr. Dryden, on his Poem of Paradice.' The reproduction is of the Illinois copy of Wing's number D2372.

THE FIRST PAGE OF THE PREFACE OF DRYDEN'S
STATE OF INNOCENCE, LONDON, 1677

The Authors Apology for Heroique Poetry;
and Poetique Licence.



O satisfie the Curiosity of those who will give themselves the trouble of reading the ensuing POEM, I think my self oblig'd to render them a Reason, why I publish an OPERA which was never acted. In the first place I shall not be ashame'd to own, that my chiefe Motive, was the Ambition which I acknowledg'd in the Epistle. I was desirous to lay at the feet of so Beautiful and Excellent a Princess, a Work which I confess was unworthy her, but which I hope she will have the goodness to forgive. I was also induc'd to it in my own defence: many hundred Copies of it being dispers'd, abroad without my knowledge or consent: so that every one gathering new faults, it became at length a Libel against me; and I saw, with some disdain, more nonsense than either I, or as bad a Poet, could have cram'd into it, at a Month's warning, in which time 'twas wholly Written, and not since Revis'd. After this, I cannot without injury to the deceas'd Author of Paradice Lost, but acknowledge that this POEM has receiv'd its entire Foundation, part of the Design, and many of the Ornaments, from him. What I have borrow'd, will be so easily discern'd from my mean Productions, that I shall not need to point the Reader to the places: And, truly, I should be sorry, for my own sake, that any one should take the pains to compare them together: The Original being undoubtely, one of the greatest, most noble, and most sublime POEMS, which either this Age or Nation has produc'd. And though I could not refuse the partiality of my Friend, who is pleased to commend me in his Verses, I hope they will rather be esteem'd the effect of his love to me, than of his deliberate and sober judgment. His Genius is able to make

b

beautiful

Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pointed out that the marriage between James Duke of York and Mary of Modena was 'solemnized by proxy' on September 30, 1673, 'but the bride did not arrive in England until late in November . . .' He further stated that there is no record of the play's performance. But Marvell could easily have seen one of the 'many hundred [manuscript] Copies' which Dryden mentioned as being in circulation, at least five of which survive, one at Harvard, two at Huntington, one in the British Museum, and one in the Bodleian. There may be others.

When was the opera actually written? Lawrence conjectured, *op. cit.*, that about the middle of September, 1673, Dryden was commissioned to write a musical entertainment for the impending marriage festivities and finished the work 'within a month.' But there is an even earlier possibility. Peterborough set out for Modena in July, 1673, as ambassador extraordinary, with instructions to ask for the hand of Mary Beatrice in marriage with James. That is, the decision to arrange James' marriage with Mary of Modena was made perhaps in June of that year. Arrangements for the wedding festivities may have been brewing from that time on, and Dryden's play may have been written at any time between June, 1673, and possibly one month before the entry in the Stationers' *Registers*, or say March, 1674. Lawrence was probably correct in his insistence, from his study of the stage directions of the printed copy and also those in the manuscripts, that Dryden intended the play for stage performance. But the reasons so far advanced for the delay and subsequent complete neglect of the performance have been misunderstood. It is most likely that the delay and subsequent abandonment of the performance, together with almost all other festivities normally connected with such a wedding arose from the unpopularity of the marriage. Charles II delayed the execution of the article in the marriage treaty which provided to Mary a public chapel (Roman Catholic), a private chapel being fitted up instead. Actually, Charles seems not to have publicly acknowledged the marriage at all until September, 1674. See Sir John Reresby, *Memoirs*, edited by James J. Cartwright, London, 1875, page 92: September, 1674. His highness the Duke of York declared his marriage with Mary, daughter to the Duke of Modena, who had arrived here not long before with the duchess her mother. The nation was much troubled at it, she being a strict Papist, and the match having been arranged by the French King.

And not until 1675 was the allowance of £5,000 a year granted her. Among the London public at large, Mary shared her husband's unpopularity, and the marriage itself was never popular.

It is all but certain, therefore, that Dryden wrote his play sometime before April, 1674, but certainly not earlier than July, 1673. Masson's contention that Marvell had seen a manuscript copy of it before writing his commendatory verses prefixed to the second edition of *Paradise Lost* seems reasonable, and Lee, in his commendatory verses addressed to Dryden seems to be attempting to offset what Marvell had written. Certainly, Dryden's 'Apology' was written for the publication of the play in 1676/1677. The approximate date of first publication of the play seems settled by the entry, *Term Catalogues*, volume 1:266, Hilary Term, 12 February 1676/1677, under *POETRY AND PLAYS*:

The State of Innocence and Fall of Man. An Opera written in Heroic Verse; and dedicated to her Royal Highness the Dutchess. By John Dryden, Servant to his Majesty. In Quarto. Price, sticht, 1s. Sold by H. Herringman at the Anchor in the New Exchange.

Masson argued that the second edition of *Paradise Lost* was actually brought out by Simmons at the time it appeared because he feared that he might lose money by the sale of Dryden's printed play unless he put the poem on the market at once. This seems a plausible enough reason, but it can only be assumed, not proved. The effect of the circulation of the Dryden manuscript may have had, as Masson assumed, an even greater effect on Milton than on Simmons, in so far as bringing to a head the whole matter of a second edition of the poem. But it should not be deduced from such conjectures that either the proposal to publish a second edition, or the various revisions

necessary in preparation for such an edition, came into being as a result of Dryden's 'tagging.' The revisions found in the second edition of the poem as published would have required a longer time to prepare, especially for a completely blind author, than the period between the entry of Dryden's play in April and the actual appearance of *Paradise Lost* in June of the same year, 1674. It is doubtful if *Paradise Lost* could have been put through the press in the fifty to seventy-five days between those dates, and the revision would have required even more time. On the other hand, if Dryden's 'tagging' was begun perhaps some time before April, 1674, his act of securing permission to 'tag,' may well have been the immediate occasion for Simmons, or Simmons and Milton, to hasten to bring to publication a second edition that both he and the author had been rather aimlessly preparing, perhaps since April of 1669 after the first edition had sold out, but which had been repeatedly postponed to make way for the publication of the Caryl material. Thus, if the second edition had been started by the printer in the late winter of 1673/1674, and worked at continuously, it could easily have been ready for sale by June, 1674. Therefore the several sets of facts, those connected with Simmons' plans and printing of Caryl on *Job*, those connected with Dryden's play in manuscript, and those connected with the second edition of Milton's poem, have too many elements in common to be accounted for entirely by coincidence.

The next fixed point in our knowledge of the publication of the second edition of *Paradise Lost* comes from the *Term Catalogues*, volume 1:181 with the entry, in Trinity Term, 6 July 1674, licensed by Roger L'Estrange, 'Paradise Lost. A Poem, in Twelve Books; Revised and Augmented by the Author, John Milton. Price 3s.' That is, sometime between May 26, the end of Easter Term, 1674, and July 6, 1674, or almost certainly in late June, 1674, the second edition of *Paradise Lost* was published, and the appearance of the book as a reprint was noted in the *Term Catalogues*. There is an entry in the *Term Catalogues* that seems to indicate that the second edition of *Paradise Lost* may actually have appeared before July 1, as in the *Term Catalogues*, volume 1:172, for Easter Term, ending May 26, 1674, occurs the following notice under the heading of *LIBRI LATINI*: 'Joannis Miltonii Angli Epistolarum Familiarum liber unus. Quibus accesserunt Ejusdem jam olim in Collegio Adolescentis prolusiones quædam oratoria. In Octavo. Printed for B. Aylmer at the Three Pidgeons in Cornhill.' This notice is for the actual appearance of the book; but the entry for its right of copy appeared in *Stationers' Registers*, 1640-1708, volume 2:481 under date of 1 July, 1674:

Master	Entred . . . under the hands of Master ROGER L'ESTRANG and
Brabazon Aylmer.	Master Warden MEARNE a book or copy intituled Joannis Miltonii Angli Epistolarum familiarum Liber unus quibus accesserunt eiusdem jam olim in Collegio adolescentis prolusiones quædam oratoriae. vj ^d

Thus, the two books, each published by a different bookseller, appeared at about the same time. And Simmons may have been led to insist that Clavell list his publication, though tardily, having listed the *Epistolæ* by the same author in the previous term. From this time on, Milton himself, dying as he did early in November, 1674, has no connection with various other facts bearing on the subsequent publication and sale of *Paradise Lost*.

The next fact of consequence here is the appearance of the first advertisement for the great folio edition of Caryl's *Expositions on Job*, see *Term Catalogues*, volume 1:230, in Hilary Term, 10 February 1676:

An Exposition, with Practical Observations, on the Book of *Job*. Vol. I. By Joseph Caryl, sometime Preacher to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn; and more lately of St. Magnus', near London Bridge. Printed and published by Sam. Simmons, next door to the Golden Lyon in Aldersgate street.

This was the first volume of the ill-fated folio edition of Caryl on *Job*, although the notice in the *Term Catalogues* gives no hint of the size of the book.

Then, in Hilary Term, 1677, listed under *POETRY AND PLAYS*, appeared the notice of the publication of Dryden's *State of Innocence*, see *Term Catalogues*, volume 1:266, quoted page 12 of this volume. In Michaelmas Term of the same year, under date of 26 November 1677, appeared the notice, already referred to and quoted in my volume 2:108-9, of the completion by Simmons of the complete *Expositions on Job* of Joseph Caryl, and the second of the two folio volumes bears the date of MDCLXXVII.

In 1678 appeared the third edition of *Paradise Lost*, with the title page which, though reset, differs only from that of the second edition in the line *The Third Edition*. and in the date at the end of the letterpress. There is no mention of this edition in the *Term Catalogues*, and aside from the date, 1678, on the title page, no precise time of publication of it can be ascertained.

The next known fact in the history of the publication of *Paradise Lost* is found in the item, taken from Stationers' *Registers* of 1683, and quoted in my volume 2:110, whereby we learn that on 27 October 1680, Simmons had released his rights in *Paradise Lost* to Brabazon Aylmer by assignment.

Later in the same year and after he had sold his entire interest in *Paradise Lost*, Simmons secured a receipt from Elizabeth Minshull Milton, the widow, paying her eight pounds for all her rights and claims in *Paradise Lost*, a reproduction of which receipt appears opposite.

For reasons unknown, but speculated on in my volume 2:111, Simmons later secured another form of release obviously a set form drawn up by a professional scribe from Elizabeth Milton, dated 29 April 1681, and this form is reproduced on page 17. Both this release and the receipt signed by Elizabeth Milton are in the Cambridge University Library, and are reproduced herein by their kind permission.

The political developments at the end of the reign of Charles II that were to lead to the formation of the Whig party, and more especially the activities of the Exclusioners about 1679, see *sub 'Whig'* 3, in *Oxford English Dictionary*, reflected themselves in the altered attitude towards Milton's works noticeable thereafter. In the Easter Term of 1681, see the *Term Catalogues*, Easter Term, [May] 1681, volume 1:443, occurs the notice of the publication of a brief suppressed portion from *The History of Britain*, 1670, 'Mr. John Milton's Character of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines, 1641; omitted in his other Works, and never before printed. Quarto. Price 2d.'

The very next term of the same year, 1681, saw the announcement of the second edition, but which was dated 1680 on the title page, of *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*, see the *Term Catalogues*, Trinity Term, [June] 1681, volume 1:453, listed under 'REPRINTED.' 'Paradise Regain'd. A Poem, in four Books: to which is added, *Samson Agonistes*. The Author, John Milton. Printed for J. Starkey at the Miter in Fleet street. In Octavo. Price, bound, 1s. 6d.' The first edition of these poems had been licensed July 2, 1670, and registered September 10 of the same year, see volume 4 of this facsimile edition for reproduction of license leaf, and *Stationers' Registers*, 1640-1708, volume 2:415 for registration. Slowly the publishers and booksellers were beginning to yield to the demand for Milton's poetry, though the author was still a politically obnoxious name to the King's party.

In 1682 there appeared an edition of an English translation of Milton's 'Republican Letters' that seems to be little known to bibliographers. The copy before me at the University of Illinois Library carries the title page reproduced on page 18. There is no clue in the two-page address to the 'Curteous (sic) Reader' to the identity of the translator or publisher. The translation is quite different from that printed in 1694, and probably the main value of the publication today is as an indication of the growing interest in Milton's works, and the greater safety in publishing them.

RECEIPT OF 21 DECEMBER 1680

I do hereby acknowledge to have received of
 Samuel Symonds Cittizen and staçoner of
 London, the sum of Eight pounds: which
 is in full payment for all my right, title,
 or Interest, which I have, or ever had in the
 Copy of a Poem Intituled Paradise Lost
 in Twelve Bookes in 8^{vo}. By John Milton
 Gent: my late husband. Wittness my
 hand this 21st day of December 1680.

Wittness

William Yapp Elizabeth Milton
 Ann Yapp

TRANSCRIPTION OF RECEIPT OF 21 DECEMBER 1680

I do hereby acknowledge to have received of
 Samuel Symonds Cittizen and staçoner of
 London, the sum of Eight pounds: which
 is in full payment for all my right, title,
 or Interest, which I have, or ever had in the
 Copy of a Poem Intituled Paradise Lost
 in Twelve Bookes in 8^{vo}. By John Milton
 Gent: my late husband. Wittness my
 hand this 21st day of December 1680

Wittness

William Yapp	Elizabeth Milton
Ann Yapp	

THE FINAL QUITCLAIM RELEASE OF 1681

Know all men by these presents that I Elizabeth Milton of London widdow, late wife of John Milton of London Gent: deceased - - - have remised released and for ever quitt claimed And by these presents doe remise release and for ever quitt clayme unto Samuell Symonds of London Printer - - - - his - Heires Executō and Administratō All and all manner of Accōn and Accōns Cause and Causes of Accōn Suites Bills Bonds writings obligatorie Debts Dues Duties Accompts Sumē and Sumes of money Judgments Execucons Extents Quarrells either in Law or Eqiuty Controversies and demands And all and every other matter cause and thing whatsoever whicht against the said Samuell Symonds - - - I ever had And whicht I my heires Executors or Administrato shall or may have clayme psente challenge or demand for or by reason or meanes of any -- matter cause or thing whatsoever from the beginning of the World unto the day of the date of these presents In witness whereof I have herevnto sett my hand and Seale the twenty ninth - day of April - in the thirty third Yeare of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Lord Charles a[?nd?] by the grace of God of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland King Defender of the ffaith & c Annoq; Domi 1681

Sealed and delivered

in the presents of

Jo / Leigh

Elizabeth Milton [Seal]

W^m Wilkins

FINAL QUITCLAIM RELEASE SIGNED BY ELIZABETH MILTON, 1681

Know all men by these presents that I Elizabeth Milton of London
 widow, late wife of John Milton of London gent: deceased
 have remitted released and for ever quit claimed And by these
 presents do release release and for ever quit claim unto
 Samuell Symonds of London Printer
 his Executors and Administrato^rs All
 and all manner of Action and Actions Causes and Causes of
 Action Suites Bills Bonds writings obligatorie Debts Duds
 Judgments Attorneys Sums and Sums of money judgments
 Execution Exchents Quarells either in Law or Equity
 Controversies and demands sundry and diverse other matters
 cause and thing whatsoever which against the said Samuell
 Symonds I ever had had or which I my heires
 Executors or Administrato^rs shall or may have rayned or sente
 shallinge or demand for or by reason or means of any
 matter cause or thing whatsoever from the beginning of
 the World unto the day of the date of these presents In
 witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal
 the twenty ninth ~ day of October ~ in the thirtieth
 Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles
 by the grace of God of England Scotland France and
 Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c Annoq Dni. 1681

Sealed and delivered
 in the presence of
 Jo: Leigh
 W^m Wilkins

Elizabeth Milton

TITLE PAGE FROM MILTONS REPUBLICAN-LETTERS, 1682

M I L T O N S
REPUBLICAN LETTERS
O R
A Collection of such as were
written by Comand
of the
LATE COMMONWEALTH
O F
E N G L A N D;
from the Year 1648. to the Year 1659.
Originally writ by the learned
J O H N M I L T O N,
Secretary to thofe times, and now trans-
lated into English, by a Wel-wisher
of *Englands honour.*

Printed in the Year 1682.

The same year, 1682, saw the publication of another of Milton's previously unpublished works, which would scarcely have been attempted had not there existed a growing safety in attention to him and his works. The notice of its publication follows, see the *Term Catalogues*, Hilary Term, [February] 1682, volume 1:472:

A brief History of *Moscovia*; and of other less known Countries lying Eastward of *Russia*, as far as *Cathay*. Gathered from the Writings of several Eye Witnesses. In Octavo. By John Milton, before he lost his Sight. Printed for B. Aylmer at the Three Pidgeons in *Cornhill*.

We learn something of the change in attitude towards Milton from both these notices. In the second, there is no explanation of his identity, it being obviously assumed that he was well known by reputation; and the statement concerning his loss of sight assumed baldly that everybody knew that he had become blind, and probably under what general circumstances. The manuscript for this *History of Moscovia* has long since disappeared, consequently there is no way for us to learn today how much of Aylmer's notice was supplied from information which Milton had given him directly.

There were several events which took place in 1683 that have some bearing on the fortunes of Milton's publications, especially *Paradise Lost*. The first of these events has already been noted, see my volume 2, page 110, and consisted of the entry dated 24 July 1683 in the Stationers' Registers of the transaction whereby Samuel Simmons transferred all his rights in *Paradise Lost* to Brabazon Aylmer, the actual sale, according to the transfer entry, having taken place 27 October 1680.

Variously hinted at by others, so far as can be determined, Thomas Newton's statement is the earliest authority extant today for what happened thereafter to the right of copy for the poem. His statement, found in his edition of *Paradise Lost*, 1749, contains the following statement, see his volume 1, page xxxviii:

The third edition was published in 1678; and it appears that Milton had left his remaining right in the copy to his widow, and she agreed with Simmons the printer to accept eight pounds in full of all demands, and her receipt for the money is dated December 21. 1680. But a little before this Simmons had covenanted to assign the whole right of copy to Brabazon Aylmer the bookseller for twenty five pounds; and Aylmer afterwards sold it to old Jacob Tonson at two different times, one half on the 17th of August 1683, and the other half on the 24th of March 1690, with a considerable advance of the price; and except one fourth of it which has been assign'd to several persons, his family have enjoyed the right of copy ever since.

All original records of these transactions between Aylmer and Tonson have apparently disappeared, and Newton's is today the earliest full account of them.

Another transaction, similar to that involving Aylmer and Tonson, was recorded only a few days after the first date supplied by Newton. On August 21, 1683, Mrs. Sarah Martin, 'relict and executrix of the last will and testam^t of John Martin' sold to Robert Scott her rights in a long list of books and 'coppyes' see *Stationers' Registers*, 1640-1708, volume 3:181-190. In this list are to be found two works, one by Milton, and the other by Salmasius. The Milton 'coppy' was, see *op. cit.*, page 184, 'Milton's *History of Brittaine*', a work that had already attained some commercial value for its printer and publishers, and from the time of the transfer was to retain that value through at least one more edition before 1700. The other, listed on the next page, was '*Salmasij responsio ad Miltonum*' which, from a publisher's or bookseller's standpoint, probably never had much commercial value, and, so far as is known, was never reprinted as a generally commercial venture. The chief interest in this entry today, aside from its factual value, is its indication that any book by Milton, or even connected with him, had some value in the book market, a condition that owed much to the growing political unrest.

The next event of note and connected with the publication and sale of *Paradise Lost* was the appearance in 1688 of the great folio edition, published by subscription, and printed by Miles Flesher. There can be little doubt that the actual date of appearance of this edition was largely

determined by the swift march of events connected with the abdication, if it can be called an abdication, of James II. James finally escaped with Berwick to France between the twenty-second and twenty-fifth of December, 1688, William III having landed at Brixham, south of Torbay, on November 5, arriving at St. James' on December 18 of the same year. The abdication, perhaps entirely by accident and perhaps most indirectly, immediately reflected itself in the change in attitude of the booksellers and printers towards Milton's works. Awnsham Churchill made the following entry, see *Stationers' Registers, 1640-1708*, volume 3:345, only a little more than a month after James had fled:

30 Jany 1688[9]

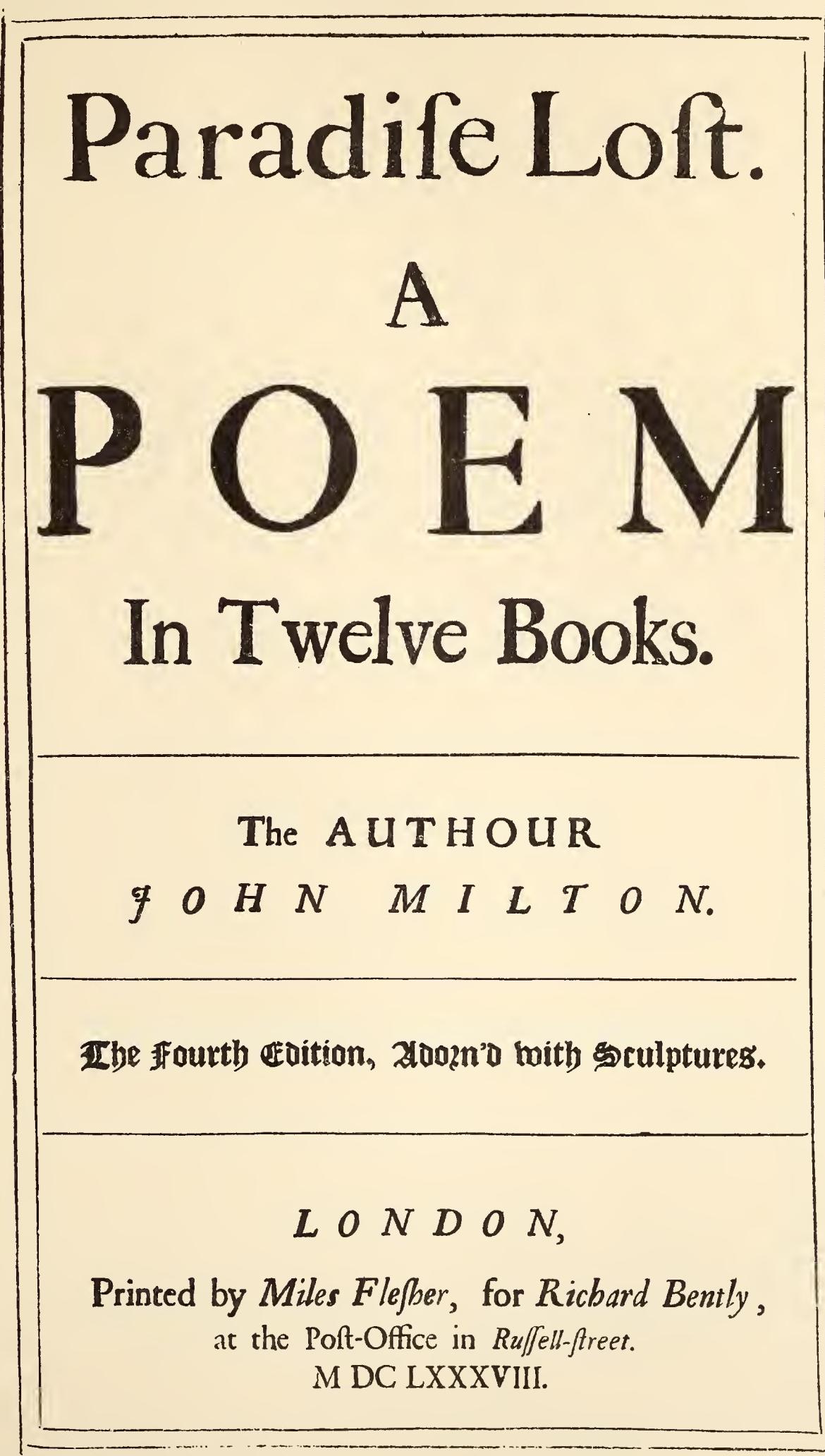
Awn. Churchill. Entred . . . booke or copy under the hand of Master Wardn
 CLAVELL entituled *Tracts of John Million [sic Arber] of Divorce, Colasterion, Tetrachordon, Areopagitica, Notes on Griffith sermon, True Religion, Heresey &c, Observacons on Jicck peace, pro populo Anglicano, et Salmatij Lat & Eng: defensio secundo lat Engl; pro se contra Moram lat: Engl; epistola familiares lat & Eng on Rawleigh' Cabinet counsell Johannis Phillipps Angt responsio. Lat & Engl, Lre Cromweliane, Lat & Engl, of Rimerius herelius, of civil power.* Licensed by Ro: MIDGLY. . . . vj^d
 [The penultimate title is probably a garbling of *Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings*]

Someone saw an opportunity to make some money out of Milton's prose works, many of which had never before been registered, and Churchill lost no time in registering his right of copy for the works included in the list. But the date of registration is too near the date of the abdication of James II to be accounted for entirely by coincidence, and one other known fact adds its bit of evidence of connection. That is the date of the handsome, subscription folio dated 1688, and which I am inclined to believe in the absence of any exact knowledge of its precise date of appearance, probably appeared in the winter of 1688/1689. This is hardly the proper place to discuss in great detail the folio editions of *Paradise Lost*, appearing from 1688 through 1695; but at least a few facts are needed with any mention of the 1688 edition, for neither it nor the other folios that followed it have ever been completely and adequately described.

The folio edition with title pages dated 1688 exists with three slightly different title pages, and printed on two different paper stocks. Apparently, except for the title pages, none of the type was reset; but the large paper stock, with watermarks in two places on the large sheets before folding, one the name I CONARD enclosed in a loop and the other a bunch of grapes a little over an inch long, in the twelve copies at Illinois occurs always with the Bently, and the Tonson title pages. The smaller paper stock, with one watermark consisting of three initials and the other a foolscap, occurs only with the Bently-Tonson title page. There are at least these three different title pages for this edition and a reproduction of each appears herein. All twelve copies at Illinois, regardless of title page or paper stock, are mispaged 151 through 196 for the true page numbers [251] through [296] but are correct from page 297 to the end of the book. Most copies examined are made up with a portrait facing the title page. A leaf with The VERSE. on the recto follows the title page. Next comes the first of the twelve 'sculptures' facing the first page of the text, when present, and the other 'sculptures,' occur between books. One copy at Illinois contains the statement in pencil that these 'sculptures' were originally designed by Sir John Baptist Modena. This may or may not be John Gaspars Baptist, a portraitist and tapestry painter, who died, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, in 1691. The 343 numbered pages of text, with misnumbering as noted, are followed by three leaves containing 'The Names of the Nobility and Gentry' who subscribed for the edition. The chief value of these remarks concerning the folio edition here is to point out that the attention accorded it grew directly out of the relatively huge extent to which the editions of 1667, 1674, and 1678 had circulated. And if we can believe contemporary or near contemporary evidence, the 1667 edition was by all odds the best known of the three.

THE 1688 BENTLY TITLE PAGE

(Measuring from the outermost rules, the dimensions of the original of this title page are about ten inches by five and three fourths inches)



THE 1688 TONSON TITLE PAGE

(Measuring from the outermost rules, the dimensions of the original of this title page are about ten inches by five and three fourths inches)

Paradise Lost.
A
POEM
In Twelve Books.

The AUTHOR
J O H N M I L T O N.

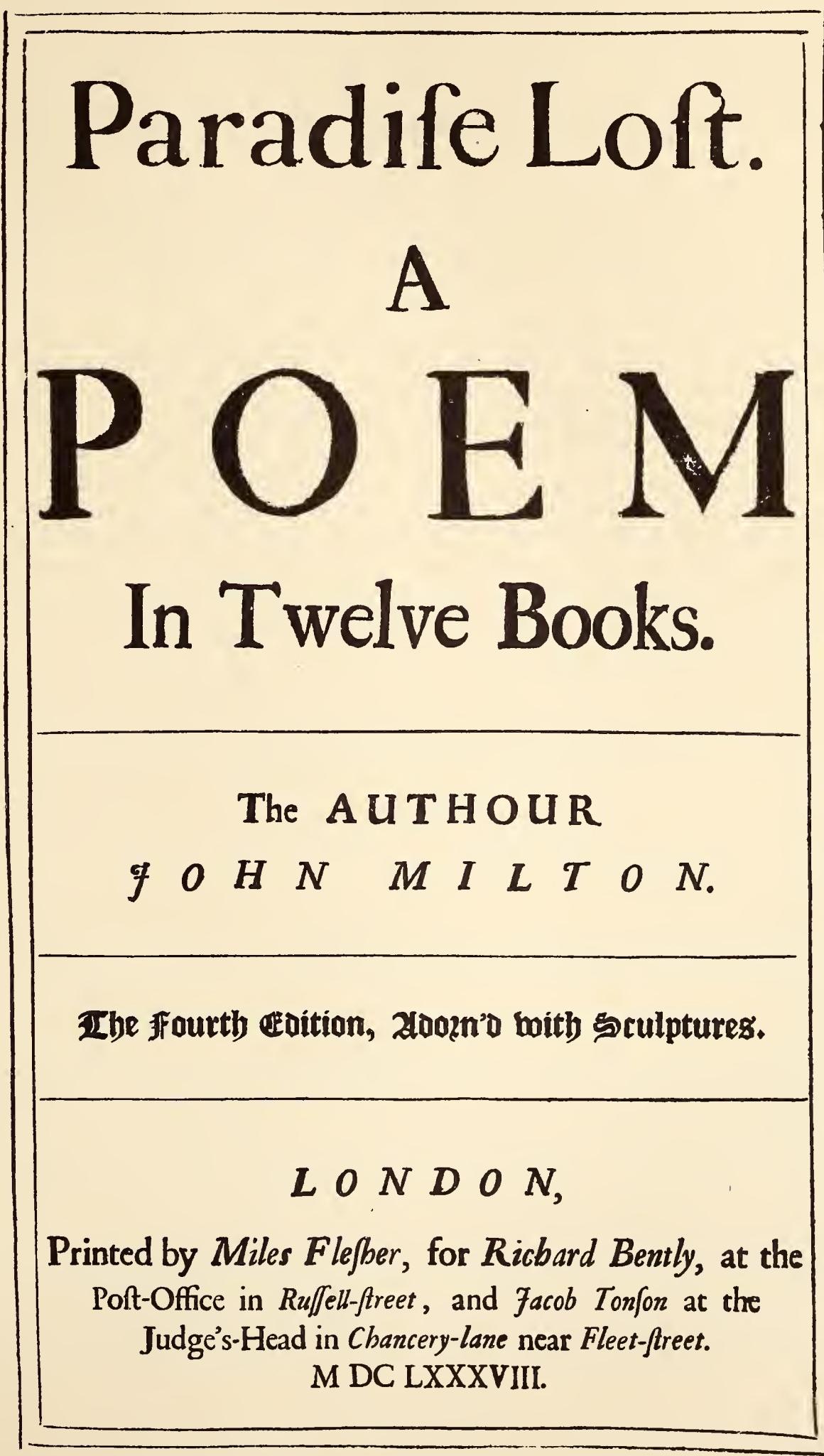
The Fourth Edition, Adorn'd with Sculptures.

L O N D O N,

Printed by Miles Flesher, for Jacob Tonson, at the
Judge's-Head in Chancery-lane near Fleet-street.
M DC LXXXVIII.

THE 1688 BENTLY-TONSON TITLE PAGE

(Measuring from the outermost rules, the dimensions of the original of this title page are about ten inches by five and three fourths inches)



The 1688 Number 3 Title Page. The single horizontal rules are spaced differently. The letterpress is apparently identical through LONDON, (line 8) except for some compression vertically amounting to about three eighths of an inch to allow for four lines instead of three below. The paper stock in copies with this title page is smaller and has different watermarks than the paper in copies with the other two title pages.

II.

ACCOUNTS OF THE 1674 EDITION FROM THE EARLY BIOGRAPHERS AND EDITORS

THERE ARE AT LEAST fifteen definite and separate accounts of Milton by that many different writers who knew him, or knew his family, or knew people who knew Milton, but there is little enough to be learned from their scanty mentions of the second edition of *Paradise Lost*. However, by assembling all these accounts there are a few facts added to our knowledge of this edition.

Perhaps the earliest account of Milton, except his own autobiographical sketches in his works and letters, particularly in *The Reason of Church Government*, 1641/1642, *An Apology against a Pamphlet*, 1642, and *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio Secunda*, 1654, is that compiled by John Aubrey, and sent to Anthony Wood in 1681. This account, as is well known, was in the form of notes or 'minutes' as Wood called them. Aubrey was relatively accurate; but it is extremely difficult to determine exactly whether or not he actually knew Milton personally. Wood was under no such uncertainty, maintaining without reservation that 'my friend' had met and talked with John Milton, and had kept in close touch with the widow and Edward Phillips after Milton's death. At any rate, Aubrey has nothing to say about the second edition of *Paradise Lost*, and little enough mention of the poem in any form. He states that 'After he was blind he wrote these following Bookes viz. Paradise lost . . .' see Miss Darbshire, *Early Lives*, page 3. Later in the 'minutes' *ibid.*, page 5, he states:

mđm M^r Theodore Haak R.S.S. hath translated halfe his Paradise lost into High Dutch in such blank verse, w^{ch} is very well liked of by Germanus Fabricius Professor at Heidelberg, who sent to M^r Haak a letter upon this Translation—Incredible est quantum nos omnes effecerit gravitas styli, & copia lectissimorum verborum et . . . v. the letter.

In the 'Catalog^s Librorum,' *ibid.*, page 9, Aubrey lists 5 and 6 as 'Paradise {lost 4to.
regaind 4to. [in hand
cheif

of Edward Phillips follows] Edw. Philips his Amanuensis.' Two or three other mentions of the poem by Aubrey deal with its composition only.

The Anonymous Life of Milton, a manuscript copy of which exists today among Wood's papers in the Bodleian, but whose exact time of composition is unknown, was probably written before 1681. Aubrey seems to mention it, and Wood probably had it before him as he wrote. The Anonymous Life contains only one reference to the poem to the effect that after blindness ' . . . hee began . . . the composing of *Paradise Lost* . . .' see Miss Darbshire, *Early Lives*, page 29, where the Anonymous Life is most readily accessible.

Anthony Wood published the first volume of his *Athenae Oxonienses* at London in 1691, and among the *Fasti* for 'An. Dom. 1635. 11 Car. I,' under the 'Incorporations.' columns 880-884, is found his account of the life and works of John Milton. He barely mentions the poem, however, restricting himself to listing it among the works as number '(23) *Paradise Lost: A Poem in 10 books. Lond. 1669. qu. pr. in fol. with cuts, an. 1688.*' See Miss Darbshire, *Early Lives*, page 46, and *Athenae Oxonienses*, London, 1691, volume 1, columns 880-884.

The earliest specific mention of the second edition of *Paradise Lost* by a biographer was that by Edward Phillips in his account of Milton's life prefixed to the edition of the English translation of the *State Letters* published as *Letters of State, written by Mr. John Milton, . . . To which is added, An Account of his Life*, London, 1694. Phillips in no way acknowledged the authorship of this life, but Thomas Birch identified its author in his own account of Milton's life, acknowl-

edged and prefixed to *A Complete Collection of the . . . Historical, Political, and Miscellaneous Works of John Milton*, 1738. 'The Life and Writings' with 'Appendix' occupy pages i-xcvii. On page i, in a footnote, Birch states, after referring in the text to the 1694 account, 'This Life was written by his Nephew Mr. Edward Phillips, as appears from a Note in the Copy, which I make use of, which was given by him to a Friend of his.' On pages xxxviii-xxxix of the *Letters of State*, 1694, see also Miss Darbshire, *Early Lives*, page 75, Phillips states:

the first Edition [of *Paradise Lost*] was Printed in Quarto by one Simons a Printer in Aldersgate-Street, the other [the second edition] in a large Octavo, by Starky near Temple-Bar, amended, enlarg'd, and differently dispos'd as to the Number of Books, by his own Hand, that is by his own appointment; the last set forth many years since his death in a large Folio with Cuts added by Jacob Tonson.

As is frequently the case elsewhere in his account of his uncle's life and activities, Phillips is confused about the second edition, as the printer he names is the publisher of *Paradise Regained*, 1671, not the printer of *Paradise Lost*, 1674. But otherwise his statement can be substantiated.

The next published account of Milton was by Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, 2 vols. Rotterdam, 1697. In volume 2 on page 590 occurs the only mention of Milton's poetry in the text of the article, 'Il se mêloit (G) de poësie, & plusieurs de ses poëmes, tant en Latin qu'en Anglois, ont vu le jour, soit pendant sa vie, soit après sa mort.' The note (G) is a long one, and contains the following statement:

Au reste Milton a fait deux poëmes en vers non rimez; l'un sur la tentation d'Eve; l'autre sur la tentation de JESUS-CHRIST. Le premier est intitulé *le Paradis perdu*; le second a pour titre *le Paradis recouvré*. Le premier passe pour l'un des plus beaux Ouvrages de poësie que l'on ait vu en Anglois. Le fameux Poëte Dryden en a tiré une piece de theatre, qui fut extremement applaudie.

The next printed account of Milton, in order of its appearance, was in the publication in 1698 by I.[ohn] T.[oland], *A Complete Collection of the . . . [Prose] Works of John Milton*, 'Both English and Latin. In Three Volumes. To which is Prefix'd the Life of the Author. Amsterdam [almost certainly printed in London], M. DC. XC. VIII.' Pages 6 through 47 of volume 1 are given over to the life, and are signed on page 47 'Sept. 3. 1698. I. T.' On page 40, Toland states:

The first Edition of *Paradise Lost* was publish'd in the year 1666, [Toland makes much of having known Phillips, and his mistake about the date when *Paradise Lost* was first published is the same mistake made by Phillips in his life] in ten Books; but afterwards, amended and inlarg'd by himself, it was dispos'd according to his Direction into twelve Books, as it is read at present.

That Toland knew the second edition is indicated by the fact that on pages 42-3 he quotes with great approval from the Latin verses prefixed to that edition. Toland issued his Life of Milton separately the following year, imprinted at London, 1699.

In 1694 there had appeared *The Great Historical Geographical and Poetical Dictionary, being a Curious Miscellany of Sacred and Prophane History . . . Now Done into English . . .* 2 volumes. London, 1694. This was the first English edition of the work originally by Louis Moréri, *Le Grand Dictionnaire [sic] Historique ou le Mélange Curieux de l'Histoire Sacrée et Profane*. Lyon, 1674. Neither the first (1674) or second (1681) French editions contained any mention of Milton, nor did the English edition of 1694. But the second English edition, edited by Jeremy Collier, London, 1701, contains a short article on Milton, in its proper alphabetical place in volume 2, taken mainly from Wood and quoting from his article in the *Fasti*. It says nothing of the second edition of *Paradise Lost*.

Beginning in 1702, the Bayle *Dictionnaire* appeared in subsequent editions in 1702, 1715, 1720, 1730, 1734, 1738, 1740, 1741, and 1750-1756, and the article on Milton was amplified from Toland, but with no new material concerning the second edition of *Paradise Lost*. There were two or three English editions in English of the work, the first apparently in 1710, and two beginning in 1734; but none of these contained more about Milton than Bayle's original article augmented from Toland.

The next mention of the second edition of *Paradise Lost* is to be found in the famous critique of the poem that Joseph Addison published serially in the *Spectator*. In the issue for May 3, 1712, number CCCLXIX, Addison stated:

The number of Books in *Paradise Lost* is equal to those of the *Aeneid*. Our Author in his First Edition had divided his Poem into ten Books, but afterwards broke the Seventh and the Eleventh each of them into two different Books, by the help of some small Additions. This second Division was made with great Judgment, as any one may see who will be at the pains of examining it. It was not done for the sake of such a Chimerical Beauty as that of resembling *Virgil* in this particular, but for the more just and regular Disposition of this great Work.

Then in 1725 appeared a small edition of *Paradise Lost*, with title page reading as follows: 'PARADISE LOST. A Poem, in Twelve Books. The Author JOHN MILTON. The Twelfth Edition. To which is prefix'd An Account of his Life. . . . London: Printed for Jacob Tonson in the Strand. M DCC XXV.' The Life occupies pages [v] through xxviii with three unnumbered pages of 'Postscript.' In this edition, both are unsigned; but in the 'Thirteenth Edition' 1727, on page xxv the same 'Life' is signed 'ELIJAH FENTON.' The 1725 'Postscript' contains little else than a statement owing much to Addison about the second edition of the poem.

However, though in the First Edition it [the poem] was dispos'd into Ten Books only, MILTON thought proper in the Second to make a new division of it into Twelve: not, I suppose, with respect to the *Aeneis* (for He was, in both senses of the phrase, above Imitation) but more probably, because the length of the Seventh and Tenth requir'd a Pause in the Narration, He divided them, each into Two: on which distribution, to the beginning of those Books which are now the Eighth and Twelfth, He added the following Veres, which were necessary to make a Connection. [Quotes Book 8:1-4] The latter half of the verse was taken from this in the first Edition.

To whom thus *Adam* gratefully reply'd.

[Quotes Book 12:1-5] At the same time the Author made some few additions in other places of the Poem, which are here inserted for the satisfaction of the curious. [Quotes Book 5:637-640, and 11:485-488, and 551-552]

The next mention of the second edition to appear in print was in Richard Bentley's consummately edition of *Paradise Lost*, 1732. This famous edition of the poem, which almost at once became infamous, was prepared by the greatest classical textual scholar the English speaking world ever produced. But his edition of *Paradise Lost* was unfortunate to say the least. In his 'Preface' he shows full awareness of some differences between the first and second editions of the poem, and makes one striking statement about its reputation before the second edition appeared. On the fifth of the unnumbered pages of the 'Preface' Bentley stated, 'The First [Edition] came out in 1667, and a Second in 1674; in which all the Faults of the Former are continued, with the Addition of some New ones.' A little later on the same page he states, '. . . the Editor durst insert his Forgeries, even in the second Edition, when the Poem and its Author had slowly grown to a vast Reputation;' It is this second statement that is striking, for Bentley either assumed or had proof that the first edition of the poem was chiefly responsible for the growth of its popularity, and that subsequent editions only afforded opportunity to new readers for acquaintance with a poem whose reputation was already established.

The next printed mention of the second edition appeared in a work of joint authorship:

Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost. By J. Richardson, Father and Son. With the LIFE of the AUTHOR, and a Discourse on the POEM. By J. R. Sen. London: Printed for James, John, and Paul Knapton, at the Crown in Ludgate-street, near the West-End of St. Paul's. M. DCC. XXXIV.

This curious book contains the following statement about the second edition on page cxvii:

... in 74 (the Year in which the Author Dy'd) he put out Another, the 2d Edition, with Some few Alterations, Additions Chiefly; and Now the Poem was divided into Twelve Books, which at First was in Ten. the VIIth and Xth Books are each Divided into Two. This is the Only Authentic Edition of the *Paradise Lost* as Thus Perfected; and 'tis very scarce.

So far as I know, this is the first indication that the second edition was a small one, if that is what Richardson meant by stating that 'tis very scarce.' On page cxxv, Richardson the Elder

stated his opinion of the authenticity of the text of the second edition over the first, 'As little did his Book Suffer by This Misfortune [his blindness] in regard to the Correctness of the Impression, how much Soever the Contrary may at First Sight seem Probable. the Work is Compleat, and Pure.'

In 1738 appeared two folio volumes containing Milton's prose works, under the title *A Complete Collection of the Historical, Political, and Miscellaneous Works of John Milton*. Volume I contains a lengthy account of Milton's life and works, written by Thomas Birch, and on page xlvi Birch mentions the second edition of *Paradise Lost*, 'In 1674 Milton publish'd in 8vo a second Edition under this title . . . In this Edition he made some few Alterations, chiefly Additions; and now the Poem, which at first consisted of ten Books, was divided into twelve; [quotes most of Fenton's Postscript.]' There is little else in Birch regarding the two editions of the poem.

Two years later, in 1740, the following work appeared: *New Memoirs of the Life and Poetical Works of Mr. John Milton* ' . . . By Francis Peck, M. A. . . . Printed M, DCC, XL.' This work, as curious and chaotic in some ways as that by Richardson, on whose remarks Peck based much of his book, contains the earliest account in print of specific copies of the second edition of the poem. On page 209 occurs this statement:

4. *Paradise Lost*, a poem in XII. Books: The author *John Milton*. The second edition, revised, & augmented by the same author. London, printed by *S. Simmons* next door to the golden Lion in Aldergate-street, 1674. 8vo. Pages 333.—This edition I had the use of from Trinity-College library, by the favor of the Reverend Mr. *Allen*, junior Burfar there.

This is reckoned the second genuine edition of the *Paradise Lost*, & is very scarce.³ [cites Richardson.]

This edition is printed so very accurately, that (a few pointings excepted) Mr. Richardson thinks⁴ [gives page references to Richardson] there are but three words misprinted in the whole; viz. VII. 321 *smelling*, for *swelling*. VII. 541 [451] *fowle*, for *soule*. And IX. 1019. *me*, for *we*.

Yet I will venture to note a few more; viz. II. 483. *her*, for *thir*. II. 702. *strokc*, for *stroke*. II. 1039. *brok'd*, for *broken*. III. 592. *medal*, for *metal*. III. 597. *to*, for *or*. III. 716. *this*, for *the*. IV. 136. *gottesque*, for *grotesque*. IV. 226. *mould*, for *mound*. IV. 751. *offspring*, for *offspring*. IV. 956. *acknowldg'd*, for *acknowledg'd*. VII. 63. *conspicuous*, for *conspicuous*. IX. 1092. *from*, for *for*. 1093. *for*, for *from*. X. 997. *meserie*, for *miserie*. XI. 798. *loose*, for *lose*. XII. 534. *well*, for *will*.

Peck rambles on and provides many a tantalizing bit of alleged fact, absolutely unverifiable today; but the above list of *Errata* culled from the second edition of the poem constitute the earliest printed textual variants of their kind.

The last account of the history of the poem that could have drawn in any way upon persons who knew anyone connected with Milton directly was written by Thomas Newton, and appeared as a preface to his 1749 edition of *Paradise Lost*. On page xxxviii of his account of Milton's life and writings, Newton stated, drawing on Addison and Fenton (the long 'f' is ignored):

The second edition was printed in a small octavo, and was corrected by the author himself, and the number of books was augmented from ten to twelve, with the addition of some few verses: and this alteration was made with great judgment, not for the sake of such a fanciful beauty as resembling the number of books in the *Aeneid*, but for the more regular disposition of the poem, because the seventh and tenth books were before too long, and are more fitly divided each into two. The third edition was published in 1678; and it appears that Milton had left his remaining right in the copy to his widow, and she agreed with Simmons the printer to accept eight pounds in full of all demands, and her receipt for the money is dated December 21. 1680. But a little before this Simmons had covenanted to assign the whole right of copy to Brabazon Aylmer the bookseller for twenty five pounds; and Aylmer afterwards sold it to old Jacob Tonson at two different times, one half on the 17th of August 1683, and the other half on the 24th of March 1690, with a considerable advance of the price; and except one fourth of it which has been assign'd to several persons, his family have enjoyed the right of copy ever since.

This statement is the sole authority remaining to us of the sale of the right of copy to Tonson, although J. T.[onson] in the undated letter following Bentley's edition (1732), substantiates Newton in general. See Miss Darbshire, *The Manuscript of Milton's Paradise Lost, Book I* (1931) page xii, ' . . . Symonds sold y^e Coppy &c to Aylmere of whome I bought it, . . . '

In retrospect, therefore, the growing interest exhibited after 1679 in Milton's other works probably rested largely on his reputation gained as author of *Paradise Lost*. The folio edition of 1688, an elaborate and expensive undertaking, affords us strong indications of the relatively huge circulation under adverse circumstances of the first, second, and third editions of the poem, together with the high repute in which it had come to be held. Bentley (1732) assumed that both the poem's large circulation and the reputation which it then enjoyed were both principally founded on the widespread use of the first edition. Richardson (1734) indirectly supported this statement by maintaining that the second edition was 'very scarce.' The increase in value of the copyright of the poem, evidenced by its sale three times in ten years, in 1680, 1683, and 1690, is also testimony to the growing attention being paid to the poem by the reading public and booksellers.

Neither Milton, because of his blindness and the consequently slow processes of emendation necessitated thereby, nor Simmons, because of the slow early sale of the first edition or because of his straitened financial circumstances certainly connected with, if not arising entirely from, his difficulties in printing and selling the great Caryl on *Job* folios, seemed to be in a hurry to issue a second edition of *Paradise Lost*. There is no way by which we can be absolutely certain of what caused the delay, if it was delay, in the publication of the second edition. The third edition waited about four years, or nearly as long as the second had waited, and the fourth edition, the great folio of 1688, appeared a full decade after the third edition. Samuel Johnson, see *Lives of the . . . English Poets*, edited by G. B. Hill, 3 volumes, Oxford, 1905, volume 1:144, was probably nearer the truth of the matter than most subsequent speculators in his statement that: [*Paradise Lost*] forced its way without assistance: its admirers did not dare publish their opinion; and the opportunities now given of attracting notice by advertisements were then very few. . . .

But the reputation and price of the copy still advanced, till the Revolution put an end to the secrecy of love, and *Paradise Lost* broke into open view with sufficient security of kind reception.

Certainly political changes in England had a great deal to do with the growth of the poem's reputation; but the basis for that growth was the attention accorded the poem in its early editions, particularly the first.

III.

THE PAPER AND ITS WATERMARKS

THE PAPER STOCK on which the second edition of *Paradise Lost* was printed was different from the paper stock on which the first edition was printed. In the first edition, see my volume 2:137, the sheets used were about eleven inches by fourteen or fifteen inches, before folding or trimming for the bound book. The 1667 book was printed four pages to a form or eight pages to the sheet, the chain lines of the paper in the first edition running parallel to the lines of type. In the second edition, the paper stock measured a little less than fourteen inches by eighteen inches before folding or trimming, and the chain lines of the paper run at right angles to the lines of type, and the printing was 16 pages to the sheet. Thus, slightly less than half the number of sheets were needed to print the second as compared with the first edition; but as the sheets of the second were larger, the amount of paper by weight, or by surface area, would have been only about one fourth less.

Because far fewer changes in the text were actually made during the printing of the second edition than were made in the printing processes of the first edition, the watermarks found in the second edition paper assume a much less important role in connection with the text than those of the paper in the first edition. The chief value of close examination of the watermarks in the 1674 paper is first to determine the presence or absence of reprinted sheets, and, actually even more important, to determine the authenticity of the leaves of any given 1674 copy. No reprinted sheets or forms were found, and consequently, in this work, the first mentioned value of study of the watermarks is entirely negative. That is, the watermarks as encountered in the twenty-two copies at hand merely authenticated a single printing of the text, with minor changes effected during that printing process. As for the second value mentioned, examination of the watermarks in the copies at hand made it clear that the sheets of any actual copy can be authenticated. One or two copies examined for watermarks were found to have a leaf or leaves supplied from other copies, one such, copy 18, having Signature U supplied from the third edition, 1678. The main positive value of the 1674 watermarks, therefore, is to assure the validity of the sheets found in any actual copy. As papers used in England in the second half of the seventeenth century are very little known, the watermarks found in the paper of the copies at hand are examined here, with reproductions of the watermarks accompanying the descriptions of them.

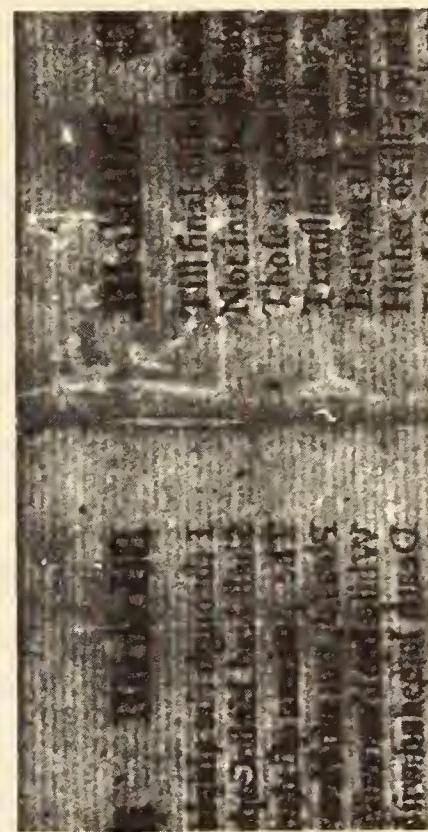
As was the case with the first edition, the second edition of *Paradise Lost* was printed on about the same stock for two thirds or three fourths of its contents, then on similar, but not identical papers of the same general dimensions and structure. These other paper stocks were employed because only enough paper had been brought from the warehouse at any one time to be used as the forms to print it could be prepared. Also as the printing progressed, with both first and second editions, not quite enough paper had been set aside in the warehouse or earmarked for the edition, and before either was completely finished, more paper was needed, which, by the time such a condition was reached, meant that a paper stock other than that originally selected had to be used to complete the printing. Such a circumstance would have been much less serious then than it would be today, as differences in the paper's color could scarcely arise. As in the first edition, a number of different watermarks are encountered in the second. There are not as many watermarks found in the second as in the first edition; but there are other paper stocks used than those on which the printing of the text was begun, although the only difference that can be noted in these papers today is through the watermarks.

The value of the study of the watermarks in 1674 is largely confined to authenticating the leaves found in any given copy. The authentication is gradually determined in the usual manner of using watermarks. That is, the process is begun by starting with any particular copy. Each signature in turn is scanned for a watermark. When one is found, which is usual, it is recorded together with the copy number and the signature in which it was found. This process continues straight through the copy being examined. The marks discovered are now listed in the order of their occurrence in the first copy examined. Then a second copy is scanned for watermarks, and again each mark and the signature in which it occurs is recorded. Most of the marks in the second copy of 1674 will agree with the marks found in the first copy examined, but probably not all. These different marks, if any, are added to the first list, and the process continued with the third copy. In this fashion, all available actual copies of 1674 were scanned for watermarks, and a record made of all the marks encountered and of exactly where they were encountered. This list of marks now constitutes an authentic but incomplete list of watermarks found in 1674. Those actually discovered are authentic because found in real copies; the list is incomplete because other copies might be examined any one of which might contain a watermark hitherto unrecorded. In case that such a mark was of the proper period of papermaking, and the printed material on the signature showed no signs of being printed at any other time than 1674, the hitherto unrecorded mark might be tentatively accepted; but in no case was a watermark fully accepted as authentically 1674 until a second occurrence was discovered. Thus, the watermarks in the twenty-two actual copies examined seem to constitute a sufficient roster of 1674 watermarks to use in dealing with any particular copy of the edition.

The conditions of printing, although almost precisely the same mechanically as for the first edition, evidently differed in outcome for the second edition, as the number of different states of any of the gatherings, recto or verso, is much smaller. No copy examined contained any reprinted material. Hence the watermarks are only indirectly of value to the textual editor. The following material presents those watermarks that were found in the twenty-two copies at hand only, but may not contain all papers that were actually used in the edition.

THE WATERMARKS FOUND IN THE COPIES EXAMINED

As the text was printed first, beginning with the Argument of Book 1 and continuing to the end of Book 12, the paper in the text will be discussed first. Usually, that is in most copies examined and hence probably in most copies printed, the first watermark will be encountered in Signature **B** in the position in which all the watermarks are found in 1674. That is, the watermark occurs in about the middle of one half or the other of the sheet both vertically and horizontally, or in the bound edges of two or four leaves, sometimes widely separated by the folding. Many watermarks observed were partly absorbed by the binding. Some of the 1674 watermarks have their horizontal axes parallel to the chain lines, and others have those axes at right angles to the chain lines. A number of unbound copies have been employed in this study to examine, identify, and photograph the watermarks.

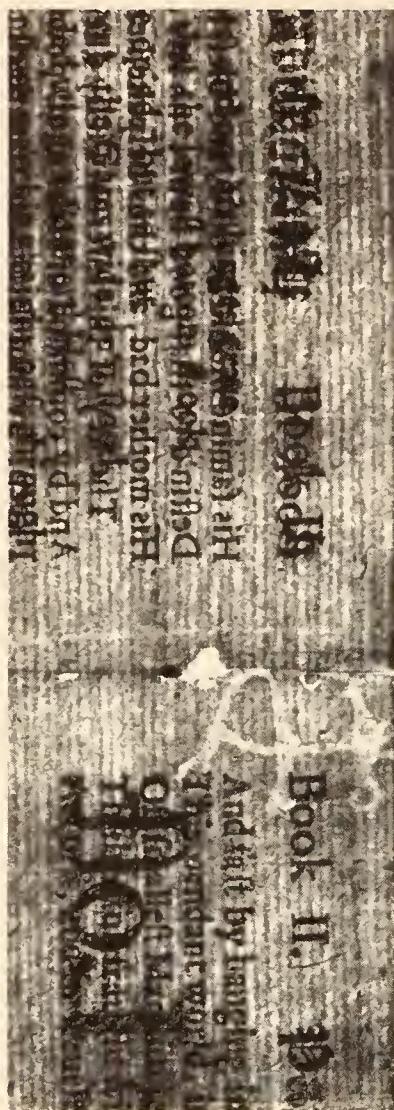


NUMBER 1-A

This watermark occurs probably more often than any other observed, and is numbered 1 because it occurs in twelve out of nineteen **B** Signatures examined that contain a watermark, thus tending to be most frequently the first watermark to appear. It consists of the three block initials **APH** the whole design measuring about two and one half inches horizontally from the extremity of the **A** to the extremity of the **H** and the letters stand about seven eighths of an inch high. Almost always one side of the **A** or of the **H** has been trimmed, as the mark occurs at the top of a page and reads in a line parallel with the chain lines in the paper, or at right angles to the lines of type. Sometimes it is partly caught in the fold of the leaves; but it is the easiest watermark to detect of all those observed. The letters are square, block capitals, in double outline. There are two slightly different forms of this watermark. In the above form, arbitrarily numbered 1-A, the lower left extremity of the **A** is distorted, though the other two letters are sound. There is no significance to the lower right blank in the reproduction; the page having separated, it was therefore deliberately omitted.

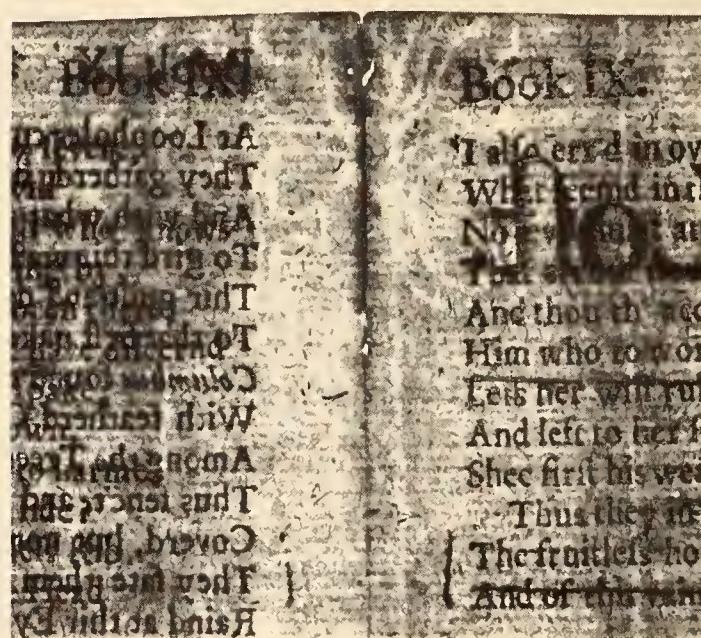
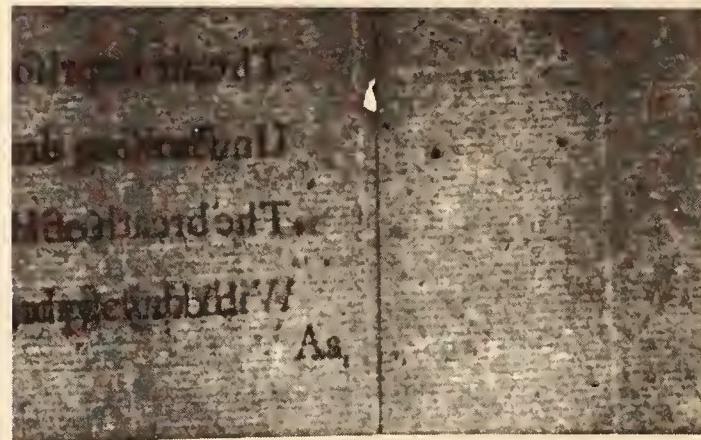
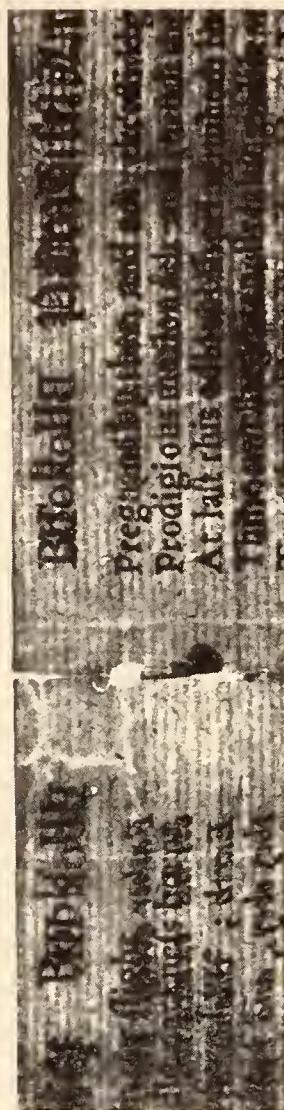
NUMBER 1-B

In this form of the first watermark, the **A** is sound, but the loop of the **P** is smaller and perhaps slightly distorted, and the **H** is distorted at its lower left.



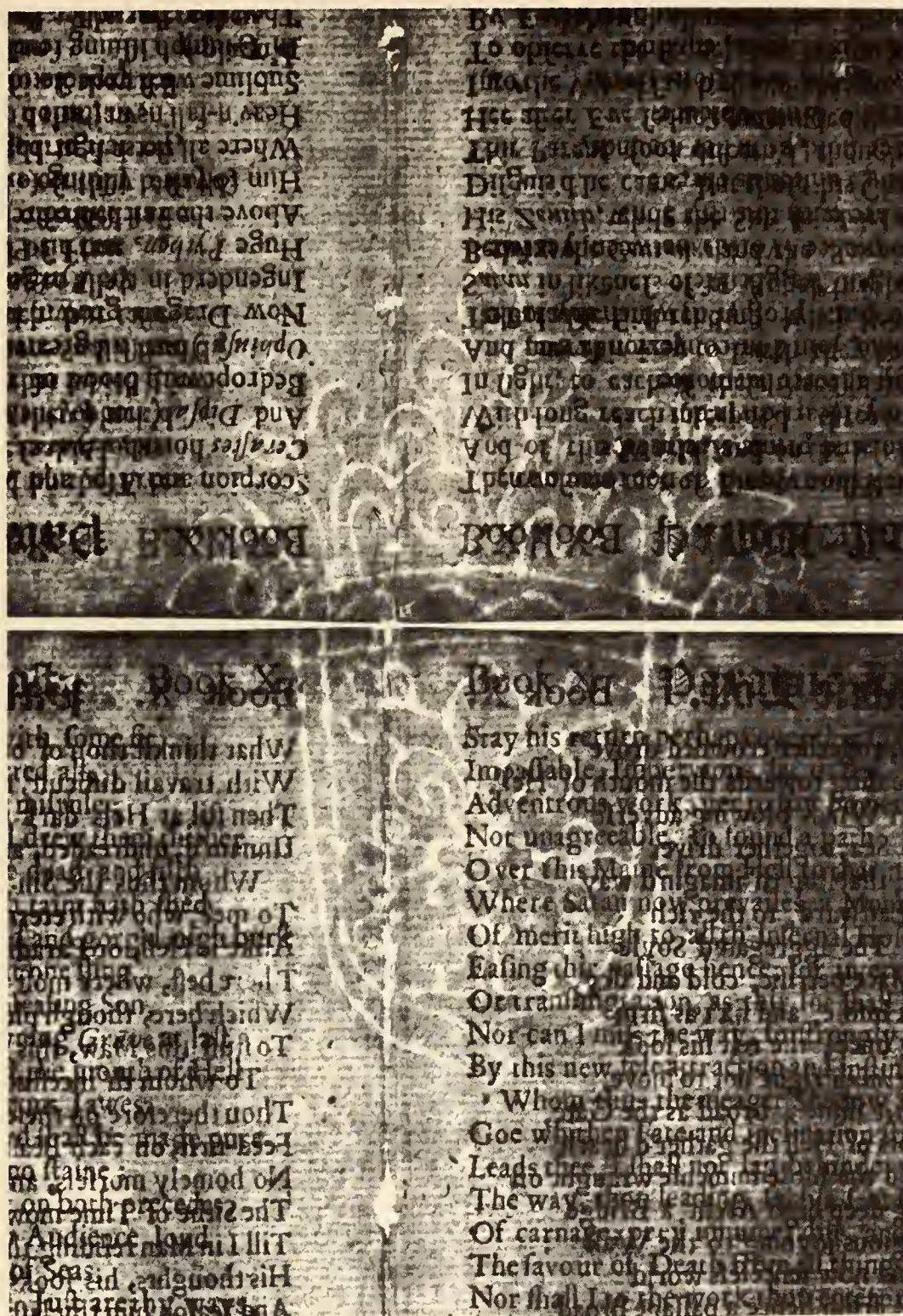
NUMBER 2

The second most frequently encountered mark in the copies examined is similar to number 1, but much smaller, being made up of the same three letters A.P.H. lying in the same relative position. The over-all dimensions of these letters are about one and five eighths inches by five eighths of an inch. The letters were made of a single continuous wire and look more like script than like the block letters of number 1. They are doubtless another watermark of the same papermaker. Being smaller than number 1, this mark is much more difficult to identify in a particular copy, as the letters may lie in the fold of the paper, or be so dismembered by the trimming of the page tops as to be almost unrecognizable. But once their general shape and characteristics are recognized, the mark is fairly easy to identify.



NUMBER 3

This mark is difficult to identify in a tightly bound copy. It consists of a stylized fleur-de-lis above the two initials F.G. although the G looks like C in many occurrences, or is undeterminable. But one or two observed occurrences of the letter make the G certain. The mark never occurs unmutilated, the fleur-de-lis being almost invariably decapitated by the trimming. In one or two instances, however, the mark was high enough up on the page to preserve the top of the middle leaf of the lily on the other cut part of the sheet. The initials read parallel to the lines of type, and frequently one or the other is buried in the fold of the binding. The most striking characteristic of its occurrence is that it never occurs before Signature R and in almost every copy examined, this watermark occurred in that signature if any watermark was discernible. It is also a difficult mark to reproduce, as it is very faint in all its observed occurrences.

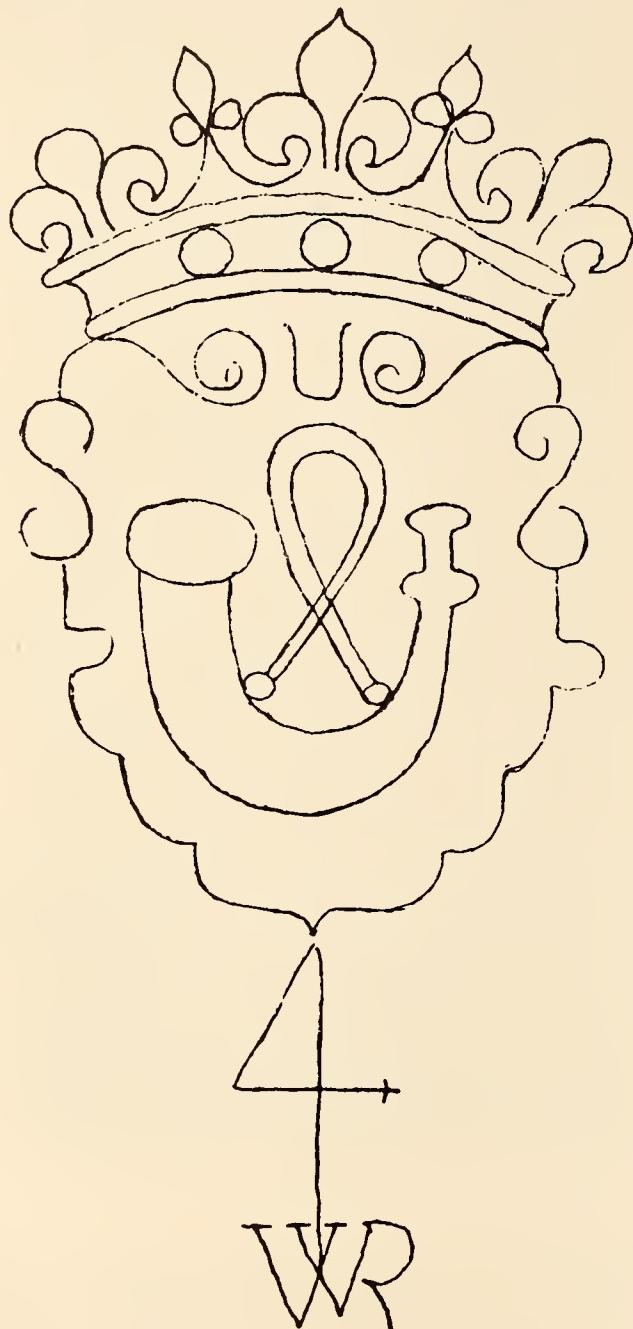


NUMBER 4

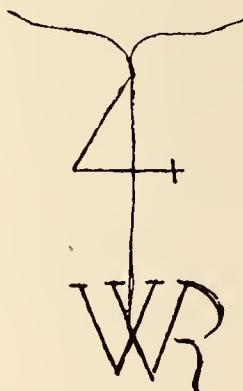
This is the largest of the watermarks observed; but it is very difficult to identify in a bound copy of the book precisely because it is so large that various parts of it always appear in four different and non-consecutive leaves. It tends to occur in the position shown in the reproduction, or even more nearly centered at the junction of the fold of the binding and the trim of the page tops. When found, it always has its long axis at right angles to the lines of type. As may be noted, it is a very elaborate mark, and perhaps there are two or three initials within the bottom part of the shield proper. The mark measures about four inches by three and three eighths inches. Once its severed parts have been recognized, the scanner for watermarks will have less trouble than before he recognizes its elements. But until those elements are thoroughly familiar, it is a most disconcerting mark to encounter in its various pieces on page after page of those signatures in which it occurs. This mark, like number 3, has a peculiarity of location, all its observed occurrences being in the S Signature, but far from all S Signatures examined contain it. Only eleven copies of the twenty-two examined contain this watermark in their S Signatures, and the mark appears only in that signature in those copies and not at all in the other copies examined. In other words, this mark, when it occurs, is known to me only in certain copies that always contain it in the S Signature. Of course it may occur elsewhere in the book in copies unknown to me.

NUMBER 5

This mark is numbered and described next solely because when it too occurs only in the **S** Signature. In copies 1, 10, 14, and 17 only, and in the **S** Signature only appears a mark that I am unable to photograph because I found it only in these four tightly bound copies. It is a shield, about as large as number 4, and in addition has dangling from it the slim 4 whose vertical element runs on down about an inch to connect with the interlaced letters WR as in Churchill number 317 and similar marks, as below. The watermark in these four copies is similar to Churchill number 317 reproduced in modified form here, but smaller, the dangling, interlaced initials being about the size of Churchill number 428, or even a little smaller. 1674 measured about four and five eighths inches in vertical over-all height by two inches across the widest part, and Churchill number 317 measures five and one half inches by two and one half inches across the widest part. 1674 has the unbandied horn as in Churchill numbers 318-323.

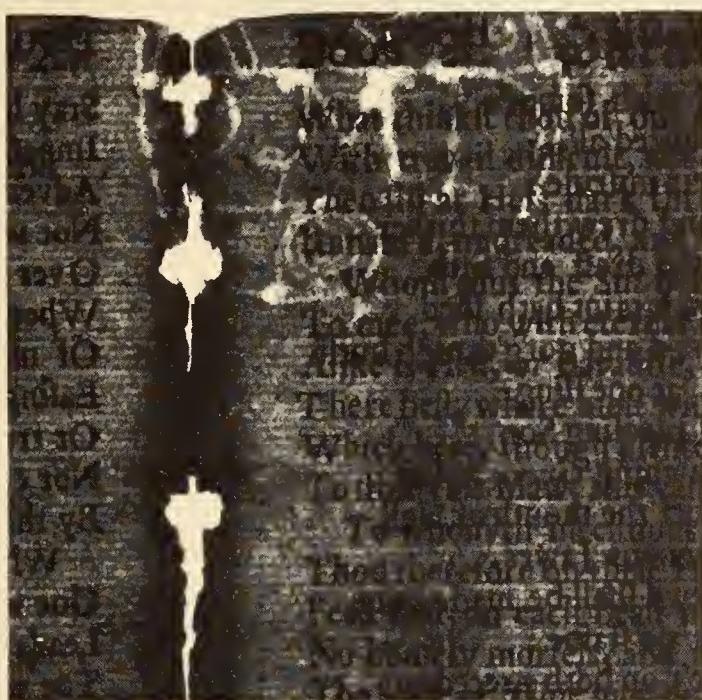
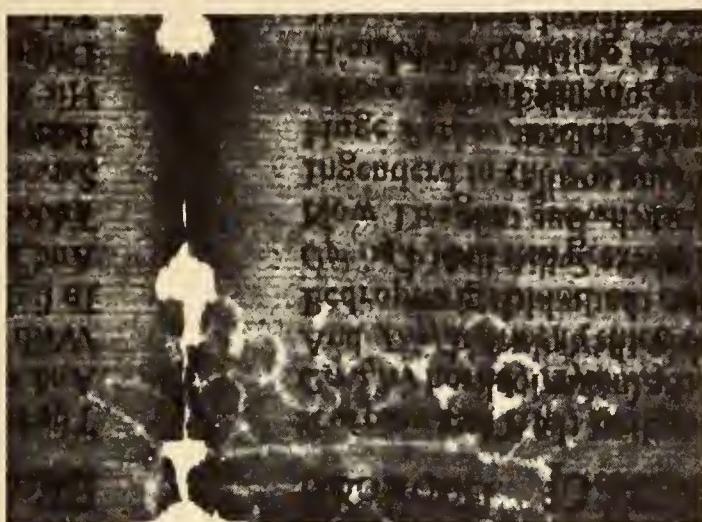


CHURCHILL NUMBER 317



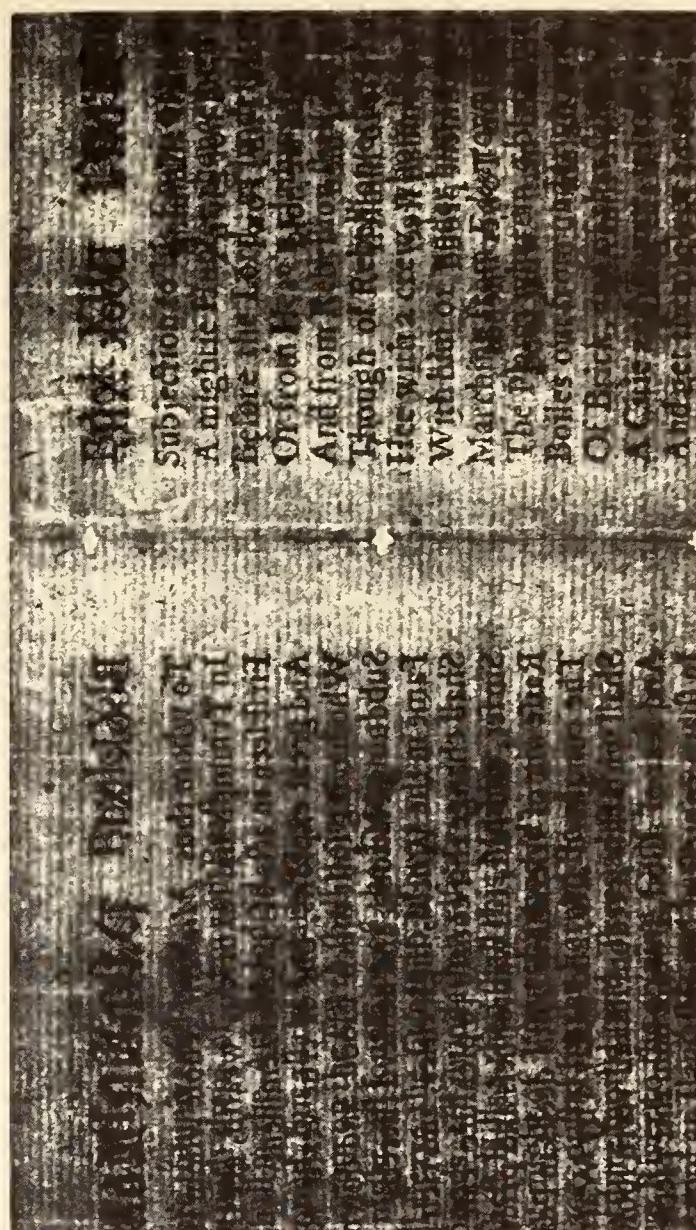
CHURCHILL NUMBER 428

The 4 and the interlaced initials WR are about the size of Churchill number 428 reproduced above.



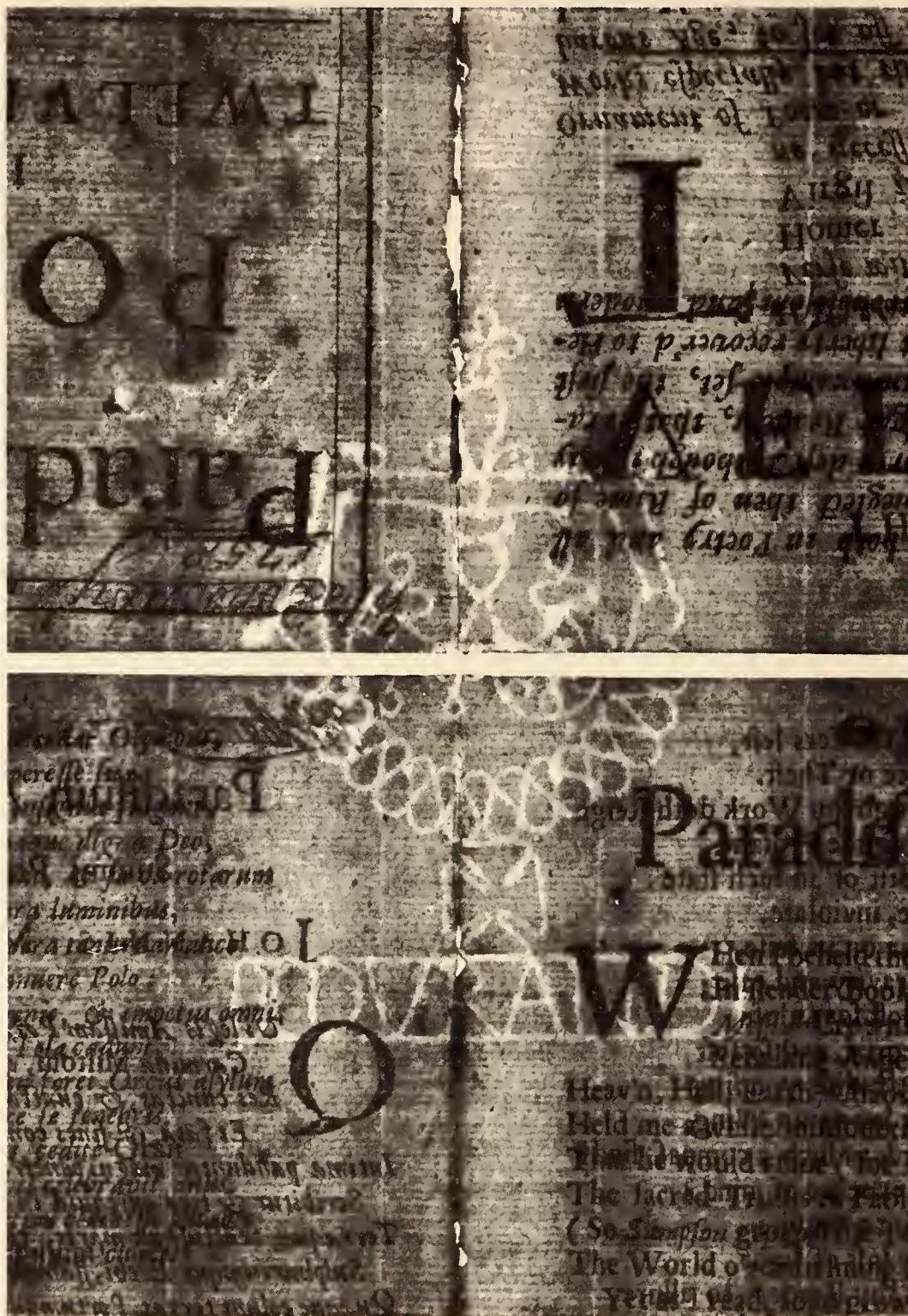
NUMBER 6

This watermark is another confined in appearance to the S Signature, and known to me only in copies 13 and 21. The reproduction, from copy 13, is marred by the miserable condition of that copy. The mark consists of a crowned shield, smaller than number 4, measuring about two and three eighths inches by two and one fourth inches. The shield contains the three initials PMD below which is the small scrolled element, the easiest identification element of this particular watermark.



NUMBER 7

This watermark tends to occur in any signature after S but in Y the final signature in the book perhaps more than in any other. It is a very faint, relatively small mark measuring only three fourths of an inch by nine sixteenths of an inch. It is made up of the initials IC so constructed that in many of its occurrences, the C looks as if it was a continuation of the top and bottom elements of the I and the horizontal axis of the letters is parallel to the chain lines, and thus at right angles to the lines of type. It always occurs at the top of a leaf, near the binding fold, and can be difficult to identify, because of its small size.



NUMBER 8

This is the watermark of the preliminary leaves, or the half sheet before the text sheets, the page following the title page bearing the Signature A2 and the other leaves including the title page bearing no signature mark. It was the only watermark found in these preliminary leaves, if a watermark occurred, about as many copies showing no watermarks in these leaves as showed this watermark. As the gathering was a half sheet, such a distribution of watermarks should be expected. The number 8 watermark certainly occurs in the portrait leaf in copies 2 and 15, and perhaps the mark in the portrait leaves of copies 10 and 14 respectively is a portion of this mark, although it may be from still another and otherwise unknown watermark. The number 8 watermark is a peculiarly elaborate design that seems always to be upside down. It measures about three and one half inches by two and one half inches, and on the long axis the elaborate design is connected by a small square cross to the looped name IDURAND and it is the position of this name that makes the design above it look upside down. This is the same name shown in Churchill number 349, although the other parts are quite different.

IV.

THE PRINTING OF THE TEXT, TYPE, AND COMPOSITION

THE TEXT OF THE POEM was printed on sheets of paper measuring from about seventeen to almost eighteen inches by thirteen and one half to fourteen inches, on each side of which sheets, eight pages, properly imposed, were printed perhaps in two pulls to the side, or if Simmons' press was large enough, in a single pull. See McKerrow's *Introduction to Bibliography*, pages 61-63, and Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises*, volume 2:323. Thus each form of type contained eight pages of text, probably about four forms, two rectos and two versos as printed, existing at the same time, but only two or at most three forms being completely intact at any given moment. The signatures began with **B** and ran through the alphabet to and including **Y** not using the letters **J**, **V**, or **W** making twenty-one full sheets, which folded to make eight leaves or sixteen pages for each sheet, with the last three pages blank, after page 333, or what would have been pages 334, 335, and 336 had they been numbered. The final blank leaf is very rare, but is found in a few copies. In copy 16 still conjugate with leaf **Y** is a good example of this rare blank leaf. The type runs at right angles to the chain lines of the paper.

There is no reason to suppose that the printing of the text began at any other point in the textual material than at the beginning of **BOOK I.** on page 1. The page sets the pattern for the openings of the various Books throughout the volume. These pages on which the various Books of the poem actually begin are numbered but contain no running heads. Each such page opens directly with the title of the poem, thus repeated twelve times, beneath which occur the word **BOOK** and the proper roman numeral, with a rule above and below. Under the second rule is the proper **ARGUMENT.** for the Book concerned. These Arguments are thus distributed throughout the poem rather than collected at the front of it as in the first edition. The first edition Arguments for Books 7 and 10 have been broken properly to provide Arguments for the two additional books formed by dividing them. On page 2, the text of Book 1 starts bravely enough with a block initial **O** but this is the only occurrence of an ornamented initial throughout the edition. The other Books open with a large, unornamented capital letter a little taller than three lines of the type, and poorly fitted to the lines. The First Book ends on page 26 in a style that persists until the end of Book 12. At the end of the text on page 26, between two rules, is the formula **The End of the First Book.** The same style, with proper changes in the number of the Book, is used until page 172, where the formula for the end of Book 6 is printed without rules above or below. This style occurs again at the end of Book 7 on page 192 with rule above only. In each of these cases, however, the type used for the legend is the same size as had been used with the rules. But on page 212, the legend for the end of Book 8 is crowded at the bottom of the page and is in smaller type. The legends closing the next three Books, 9, 10, and 11, return to the earlier pattern. But Book 12 has no legend of its own, **THE END.** in much larger type than in the earlier legends obviously marking not only the end of the Book but also the end of the poem. The running heads, except on those pages containing the opening material for any Book, where no running head appears, are regularly made up of the arabic page number, the title of the poem set in a bold face Fraktur-like type, and the Book number in roman type. The entire text is well printed, and the compositor performed his task well throughout. Most of the expressions voiced in the past in favor of the first edition being a better printed book than the second edition were based, not on the actual quality of the composition and printing of

either, but on the preference for the larger type and fewer lines to the page of the first edition which make it easier to read. But so far as composition and printing are concerned, there is little real argument possible concerning the relative merits of the printing of the two editions, the second edition being by far the superior of the two. All the 1668 *Errata* have been corrected except that of Book 2:414 where Milton may have changed his mind.

Just as a great deal can be learned about the printing of the book from a study of the type in the first edition, so also the printing of the second edition can be pretty well reconstructed from close study of the type. The type is long primer (British) or 10 point (United States) Garamond, and is too small to afford many certain opportunities for observing recurrences of broken or mutilated type, such as could be done with the first edition. In the first eleven books, the pages were regularly set with thirty-four lines each, and set solid. The pages are unruled, but, on the whole, better balanced than in the first edition. Except for the paragraph indentations for about the width of three letters, the left-hand ends of the lines form a straight line vertically as in the first edition; and on the whole the absence of the vertical rule in the second edition makes for a cleaner looking left-hand margin. The large capitals with which each book, except the first, begins are in no way distinctive.

However, though too small perhaps for purposes of identification, some few peculiarities of the type, or of the use of it, may be noted. In general, in type as small as this, it is impossible to be certain about mutilations, as almost any accident to the type could happen that might not represent in any way a peculiarity of the particular type font employed. Thus, dirt, ink, cloth, paper, or some other substance might adhere to the face of the type or to the paper as it was being printed, and the printed result might look as if the type had been mutilated. Also, in type this small, with general conditions for type-making much improved by 1674 over those obtaining in 1667 or soon after the Great Fire, especially for recasting worn or broken type, mutilated type was discarded and recast as rapidly as discovered. Instances of this improvement seem to abound in the second edition of *Paradise Lost*. Thus, in the early stages of composing the book, the compositor lacked enough W's to set all the words that required this capital letter. He began as early as page 22, in the C Signature, to substitute VV for it and continued this practice through three or four signatures, the substitution, however, being heaviest in Signatures C D and E after which, except on page 94 in the G Signature, and on pages 99, 109, and 110 of the H Signature, the use of VV for W as well as the use of the wrong font W as on pages 29, 30, 63, 64, 87, 93, 94, and 108, almost ceases, and the compositor from that point on usually had enough of the right font capital W's to avoid the use thereafter of substitutes for them. In the same fashion, there appears, rather late in the book, on page 223, in Signature P and occurring once each in the next three signatures, on pages 239, 255, 269, and on page 303 in the U Signature, a broken P in the word *Paradise* of the running head. Then the broken letter was replaced, for it does not appear in Signatures X and Y or in the last thirty pages of the book. In the same way, the letter L in the word *Lost* of the running head occurs in three different broken conditions, one being found on pages 248, 276, 308, and 324; another on pages 252, 288, 317, and 333; and the third on pages 249, 268, 298, and 330. Another instance of the same general kind is found in the broken period used after the roman numeral of the running head on pages 89, 107, 121, 171, and 185. In these pages, it seems certain that the same period, broken and unnoticed for a time, was used until noticed. Then it was changed beginning with the O Signature, and never appears again. However, and for the most part, the broken and otherwise irregular letters throughout the text are entirely too accidental to select categorically for any reason, as their size makes it impossible to determine certainly that they were broken or deformed.

It was remarked of the 1667 edition printing that very few ligatures of the letters f and k were used, see my volume 2:159 under discussion of s. In the 1674 edition, no ligatures at all of

these two letters were observed anywhere in the text, the compositor apparently always using **s** and **k** as in Book 5:186, 189, 342, 667, and elsewhere, as was frequently, but not always the case in the first edition. The absence of swash italic capitals is also marked, both in the text of the poem and in the prose Arguments, only an infrequent **Æ** as in Book 5:274, *Ægyptian* being noted.

Because of one foul case use of a space on 1674 page 162, Book 6:575, *fell'd,*) and the same foul case space usage without parenthesis on 1674 page 71, Book 3:349, *reverent'* the 1674 compositor's manner of setting parentheses is perhaps worth noting. On the fifty or sixty pages on which parentheses occur in 1674, space was always set after (and before) except in a single observed case, namely that on 1674 page 193, Book 8:3, *(hear;* which was set without space between (and **h**)

Milton, or the compositor, or both, intended to italicize every proper name, and, the compositor never being quite certain of capitalized words in his copy, this intention produced some queer forms. Some of these almost certainly arose from another characteristic of the compositor, which was that of slavishly following his copy too closely. This is noticeable for long stretches of the poem, and accounts for many a reading that less slavish following of copy might have changed.

The printing proceeded about as for the first edition, as it was done in the same shop and with essentially the same materials. The composition proceeded at about half the rate by signatures as for the first edition, there being twice as many pages to the signature, or sheet. The elapsed time for setting and printing the book would have been about the same as for the first edition. Thus, if the book was begun in late March, the work would have been finished in late June or early in July.

There probably were never more than four complete forms of the text in existence at any given time, indeed, it is likely that one of these was in process of being torn down before another complete form was finished. The type was distributed about every thirty-two pages.

Scrutiny of the type by the textual editor must proceed practically letter by letter, at least to begin with, almost as if the material was manuscript. The process of collating printed materials, however, soon begins to differ from that involving manuscript material, for the recurrence of type forms is usually much more precise and certain than that of handwritten characters. This, to be sure, is a delicate point, for Milton and the scribes and amanuenses involved in any of his manuscript material exhibit personal idiosyncrasies of letter formations that are peculiar to the individual who made them. But the handwriting of almost every human being, past or present, exhibits much wider variation in many letter forms than any type font of modern times permits. Thus, almost every extant manuscript connected with Milton exhibits more than one form for each of several letters, his own holograph manuscripts containing several varieties such as the well-known Greek and Italian 'e' to mention only one specific case. But in type, variations in letter forms as found in Milton's printed poems depend almost entirely upon the condition of the type fonts from which the printed poems were set. Wrong font, foul case, broken or unbroken type, and compositional faults constitute the vast majority of such variations; but only by the close examination of practically every discernible printed aberration can there be provided an adequate basis for understanding what happened to the text in the hands of the printer. Thus, attention has been called in the notes to many pieces of faint or broken type which seems to be and often becomes supererogatory. However, when dealing with the different states of printing of one or both forms of a particular signature, in both first and second editions of *Paradise Lost*, frequently these apparently inconsequential matters can assume great importance, as in 1674 Book 1:171 for the position of the apostrophe in the word **Heav'n:** It seems nonsensical at first glance to call attention to so trivial a matter as this; but closer study indicates clearly that, combined with other variations almost as trivial in the same form, two

slightly different printed states of this form emerge. Only by continuous and minute examination of such minor points can exact and definite knowledge of the printed text be acquired, and such exact and definite knowledge is absolutely necessary in order to say much of anything about the printed text that is worth saying. The ways of a printer with his copy are almost past finding out, as are the ways of an author with his caprices and changes. But once marks have been made on paper, whether by handwriting or by type, the task of the textual editor is at least clear, if utterly laborious and frequently nonsensical to the casual observer, and even sometimes to the editor himself; but he can never be quite certain of the exact point at which the meaningfulness of his labors ceases and absurdity begins. Only *ex post facto* is he allowed even to form a judgment of either, which requires an excess of inclusiveness rather than the reverse, and often a very minor factor can reverse that judgment. Sometimes a seemingly important variation, or apparent variation, in a printed text on closer examination of all discernible conditions surrounding and pertaining to it becomes utterly trivial and even absurd. In the same fashion, as slight a point as the moving of an apostrophe not much more than a thirty-second of an inch may throw unexpected light on eight pages of print. But such determinations cannot arise from neglecting printing aberrations of any kind that can be noted.

The value and applicability of the results of close collation of many copies of the various editions of Milton's poetry have different degrees of importance. In the early poetry, the different printing states of the first printings of *Comus* and *Lycidas* are actually of little textual consequence. In the *Poems* of 1645 and of 1673 printing variations are few but perplexing, which fact I have demonstrated to be true by actual collation, not by inference. In both first and second editions of *Paradise Lost*, on the other hand, only a complete awareness of all printing aberrations together with a full treatment of them can provide an adequate basis for understanding any of them. Printing processes and what happened to the text therein become the preponderant single factor in the determination of the text of the poem. Attention must be paid to almost every phase of the printing itself in these two editions, as it can be studied and understood through the surviving copies of them. And there is no way to determine what collation is valuable and what is valueless until it has been completed in all its details. I prefer to be primarily descriptive rather than merely opinionated about Milton's texts.

V. THE SIGNATURES

FROM THE COLLATIONS of the fifty-one copies at hand of the second edition of the poem, two different printing states of the text in four different signatures have been found. Two other signatures exist in two different printing states of certain page numbers only. It should at once be stated that there may be other states of the text in other signatures, at present unknown to me, because of the relative paucity of copies available for collation. That is, only a little more than a fourth and a little less than a third as many copies of the second edition as of the first could be collated, and as two of the different states discovered were relatively rare in occurrence, a larger number of copies to collate might have discovered more states in other signatures.

The states discovered in the 1674 edition are of less textual importance in some ways than were many of the states found in the first edition of the poem. This condition would naturally arise, for many corrections had appeared as states in the 1667 printing; other corrections, beginning with the list of a baker's dozen *Errata* printed in 1668, and continuing through the new divisions of, and additions to, the poem, were printed in 1674. Many of these corrections and additions were originated by Milton directly or through one of his representatives, and the 1674 compositor had the benefit of all these changes before him, from the 1667 *Errata* to actual revisions and additions, as he set the 1674 text. In other words, the 1674 edition had the opportunity of benefiting from all the corrections made in the first edition. Again, the 1674 edition was set either by a different compositor or by the same compositor working seven years later than when he had set the 1667 text. The first of these possibilities is much more likely to have been the case than the second; but in either case, some differences in spelling and a few different punctuations would have resulted, and these may be observed as differences between the two texts. Indeed, with these two large sections of differences between first and second editions thus accounted for, there is relatively little opportunity left for any great number of other kinds of differences between the two texts, or for changes within the 1674 text, and even less opportunity for such internal changes, when they occur, to assume any great significance in comparison with the importance of the same type of changes within the 1667 text. The internal changes in the 1674 text, significant in themselves in a limited fashion, make it immediately apparent that except for very minor matters, most of the important internal changes were effected in the 1667 printing. Certainly one great derivative value of the internal changes found in the 1674 edition that is of almost as much importance as the changes themselves is the notice these internal changes serve on the textual editor that he must beware of them, and hence must be on his guard against all hard and fast generalizations about the final text of *Paradise Lost*. All but one of the signatures of the 1674 edition in which different states were found contain those portions of the text of the poem for which we have apparently the most support, namely in Book 1, for which we possess the text of the Manuscript, and the printed text of 1667, some of it in two different printing states. The 1674 states of portions of Book 1 sometimes depart from the text of the Manuscript, from the printed 1667 text, and even from the original corrected state of 1674. Sometimes the second 1674 state is a return to the Manuscript reading and the 1667 text, as on page 3, Book 1:17 Thou originally printed Thou, in 1674, and then changed back to Thou to agree, intentionally or unintentionally, with the Manuscript and 1667, as again with the their/thir change on page 17, Book 1:499. Then on page 4, Book 1:71, 1674 state 1 followed 1667 and printed their although successfully changing 1667 their to thir in the next line, 72,

but missing the correction of the same word in line 71. However, someone noticed the 1674 first state of line 71, and, relatively late in the 1674 printing, it was changed to the unstressed form. These changes then made 1674 differ from 1667 and agree with the Manuscript. But again, on 1674 page 21, Book 1:637, too closely following 1667, the compositor first set me, and printed 1674 state 1 of this page, which was later changed to mee, although both Manuscript and 1667 read 'me.' In general, the second state of 1674, unless as is sometimes the case the change is a mere press change, represents Milton's preference; but his blindness prevented him from securing many other changes in the same or other signatures that he probably would have made if he could have seen them.

The 1674 states that have been discovered are limited to the four signatures, **B C D** and **R** but states of other signatures may exist. Those discovered are set forth here in detail for readier reference to them than the notes can afford.

The three signatures, **B C** and **D** containing different states of the text of the poem, one of them, **B** altered in both recto and verso as bound or in both the inner and outer forms, seem almost to terminate the process of correction of the sheets as they were being printed. These three signatures cover six forms and 48 pages. As the book was certainly set by the compositor page by page, these 48 pages constitute roughly one seventh of the entire book, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the compositor by the time he had finished with these six forms had begun to pay closer and more careful attention to copy, or felt pretty strongly that he was doing so. Thus, he or Simmons may have shut off further corrections because either or both felt them unwarranted, and probably undesired. Something like this seems to have taken place, or I simply have seen too few copies to find more than one, Signature **R** containing a slight change in the text of one of the Arguments, that shows any internal changes beyond Signature **D**. Perhaps changes in other signatures exist; but they are at present unknown to me.

SIGNATURE B

Not only were several changes observed in this signature, but changes were found in both the recto and the verso of the sheet, or in both forms, and in the verso, copy 22, there seems to exist at least one minor change made later than state 2 or more probably derived from it, for it is doubtful if any change in type was actually made at that point. The recto changes are in three states, on four pages, and consist of changing their twice, page 4, Book 1:71, and page 16, line 478, to thir in both cases, and some minor changes in punctuation, discarding a comma in one place, and raising an apostrophe in two other places. The verso changes are uniformly changes in punctuation, copy 22 only probably being a condition of state 2 page 3, Book 1:45, in which th'Ethereal with no trace of an apostrophe represents the way in which the originally weak apostrophe of all other copies examined finally failed to print at all. The recto changes are printed in three different states, for copies 9, 11, 13, 20, and 39 have printed state 2 on pages 4, 9, and 12, but state 1 on page 16.

RECTO	<i>State 1 (Copy 1 and 32 others)</i>	<i>State 2 (Copies 9, 11, 13, 20, and 39)</i>	<i>State 3 (Copy 12 and 12 others)</i>
[B2v] (Page 4) Book 1:71	their	thir	thir
[B5r] (Page 9) Book 1:238	Mate, [Worn comma]	Mate,	Mate,
[B6v] (Page 12) Book 1:321 347	Heav'n? th' uplifted	Heav'n? th' uplifted	Heav'n? th' uplifted
[B8v] (Page 16) Book 1:478	their	their	thir

SIGNATURE B (CONTINUED)

VERSO	<i>State 1 (Copies 5, 35, 54, 57)</i>	<i>State 2 (All other copies examined)</i>
B2[r] (Page 3)		
Book 1:17	Thou,	Thou
B4[r] (Page 7)		
Book 1:171	Heav'n:	Heav'n:
[B5v] (Page 10)		
Book 1:265 270	Th' associates Hell? (Space work-up)	Th' associates Hell? (No space work-up)

This variable is not a true state because no type was changed.

B2[r] (Page 3)	<i>[State 2] (Copy 22 only)</i>
Book 1:45	th Ethereal [No trace of apostrophe]

SIGNATURE C

Changes in type were observed in this signature on the recto only of the sheet, or in only one of the two forms. One change was from their to the unstressed form thir and the other was a change from the unstressed form me, to mee, the stressed form. Probably at the time the recto form was unlocked to make this change, the i was broken on page 21, as it regularly appears in state 2.

RECTO	<i>State 1 (Copies 12, 17, 40, 44, 49, 56, 58)</i>	<i>State 2 (All other copies examined)</i>
C[r] (Page 17)		
Book 1:499	their	thir

C3[r] (Page 21)	<i>[State 1] (Copies 12, 17, 40, 44, 49, 56, 58)</i>	<i>[State 2] (All other copies examined)</i>
Book 1:638	in [i unbroken]	in [i broken]

SIGNATURE D

The recto of this sheet in three copies examined, 5, 48, and 54, contained a relatively large number of type changes, at least eighteen such changes being noted, all of a minor nature, and only one, on page 41 [D5r], Book 2:450 changing an unstressed Me to the stressed form Mee being of much textual consequence. The other changes noted were changes in spelling, substitution of a capital for a lower case letter, or, most frequent, replacement of broken type. The condition of the recto of this signature in copies 5, 48, and 54 seems almost to be that of a proof state; then these state 1 sheets already run off before the changes were made, came to be used in such copies as needed completion. They probably represent an early printing state, but late bindings. Page 36 contains ten words, see lines 280, 281, 296, 298, 299, 301, 302, 303, 304, in which state 2 has apparently replaced certain weak type. See notes for these replacements, none of which changed the readings. State 2 of page 33 exists in two slightly different forms, in one of which, known only through copies 15 and 40, the ends of the long lines of type fail to print.

RECTO	<i>State 1 (Copies 5, 48, 54)</i>	<i>State 2 (All other copies examined)</i>
D[r] (Page 33)		
Book 2:194	race	Race

D[2v] (Page 36)		
Book 2:272 Catchword	art, Majestic	Art, Majestic

SIGNATURE D (CONTINUED)

RECTO	<i>State 1 (Copies 5, 48, 54)</i>	<i>State 2 (All other copies examined)</i>
D3[r] (Page 37) Book 2:305	Majestick	Majestic
[D5r] (Page 41) Book 2:442 450	what ever Me	whatever Mee
[D7r] (Page 45) Book 2:610	fate	Fate [And other type moved to right]
[D8v] (Page 48) Book 2:695 707	daies Incenc't	dayes Incenſt

SIGNATURE H

There were no changes discovered in the text of the poem in this signature, but one change was discovered that rectified an erroneous page number on **H4[r]** first printed as 101 then changed to 103 properly.

VERSO	<i>State 1 of Page Number (34 copies)</i>	<i>State 2 of Page Number (17 copies)</i>
H4[r] (Page 103) Book 4:Page Number	101	103

SIGNATURE M

There were no changes discovered in the text of the poem in this signature, but two changes were discovered that rectified erroneous page numbers on page **[M7r]** first printed as 171 then changed to 173 properly, and with page **[M8v]** first printed as 174 then changed to 176 properly.

RECTO	<i>State 1 of Page Number (Most copies examined)</i>	<i>State 2 of Page Number (Copies 1, 2, 5, 6, 14, 17, 31, 32, 44, 45, 51, 54)</i>
[M7r] (Page 173) Book 7:Page Number	171	173
[M8v] (Page 176) Book 7:Page Number	174	176

SIGNATURE R

Only one change was discovered in this signature, that being on page 250, **[R5v]**, in line 16 of the Argument. of Book 10. The word *met* was apparently first printed, then changed to *meet* as in 1667. Only copies 17 and 32 of all those 1674 copies examined printed *met* all others reading *meet* as in 1667. It is possible that *meet* was printed first, and that one of the letters was dropped out due to an accident, and the remaining copies printed read *met* here as in those two cited.

VERSO	<i>State 1 (Copies 17 and 32 only)</i>	<i>State 2 (All other copies examined)</i>
[R5v] (Page 250) Book 10:Argument, line 16	<i>met</i> [May be state 2]	<i>meet</i> [May be state 1]

SUMMARY

There are type changes in six of the twenty-one signatures, and in seven of the forty-two forms, one signature, **B** containing type changes in both recto and verso forms, and two signatures, **H** and **M** containing changes in page numbers only. Three other signatures, **C** **D** and **R** contain changes in one form only. Thus, no type changes were discovered in fifteen of the twenty-one signatures or in thirty-five of the forty-two text forms. The changes discovered were only minor, but, except for the minor changes in page numbers in Signatures **H** and **M** and the typographical change in Signature **R** the textual changes discovered seem to have originated with the author or one of his representatives.

VI.

THE PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 1674 EDITION

LYING BEFORE ME as I write this, are twenty-two copies of the second edition of *Paradise Lost*, 1674, in various conditions of preservation. Four of them are copies bound with an edition, first or second, of *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*, number 10, all edges gilded, being bound with the second edition, 1680, of those two poems, and numbers 11, 14, and 16 with the first edition, 1671. Copy 10 in its still handsome gold tooled red morocco binding bears a signature and the date '1699' on one of the front end papers and was certainly bound before or by that date. Copy 14, also bears a signature on one of its front end papers, with the date '98' and the handwriting certainly belonging to 1698, not 1798. This copy is bound in calf, and the binding is very old. Largely because it has been skillfully rebacked, I am inclined to believe that the blind tooled calf binding may be from slightly before 1700, and that it antedates the signature, which it contains. Copy 11, with backstrip almost gone, has its covers intact. They are calf, and very old. Copy 16, like copy 10, is bound in old red morocco with gold tooling. It contains one or two old names, but no manuscript dates. The binding appears to be as old as that of copy 10. Copy 4, with the sides perhaps retaining some of its very old calf binding, is probably the nearest of any of the copies before me to the appearance of the book as it was originally offered for sale. This copy has been crudely rebacked, but the paper measures roughly six and three eighths inches by four and one fourth inches. Copy 2, with what is almost certainly a nineteenth century leather binding, is the tallest copy before me, the paper measuring about six and three fourths inches by four and one fourth inches. Copies 7 and 19, bound in very old calf repaired, mended, with the grain practically indiscernible, are, in appearance, very much like what must have been originally marketed. Of course, Simmons probably sold no copies at three shillings bound in calf, and actually all bindings before me being calf, morocco, or eighteenth or nineteenth century three quarters leather, represent bindings later than the original marketings. But four or five of the copies before me, especially those in bindings so old that they look dark brown or even black, no doubt closely resemble the original appearance of the book when first offered for sale.

The book was an octavo, measuring as much as seven inches by four and one half inches over the binding, and the height probably averaging from six and one half inches to six and three fourths inches. The contents should consist of 333 type pages plus a conjugate blank leaf at the back, and preceded by four printed leaves with the portrait wrapped around them and the stub showing before the **B** leaf. Any blank leaves before the portrait were never conjugate with any leaves on which there was printing.

There are twenty-one signatures of text proper, each signature containing eight leaves or sixteen pages, the final three pages, unnumbered, being blank, and thus there should be a conjugate blank leaf at the end of the book, the last leaf of the Y Signature. The signatures are lettered beginning with **B** and running through the alphabet once, to and including **Y** omitting the letters **J**, **V**, and **W**. The horizontal axis of the type is at right angles to the chain lines of the paper. The preliminary material consists of four leaves, the recto of the first of which is the title page with verso blank, followed by **A2** on which begin the Latin lines signed on the verso of this leaf with the initials **S. B. M. D.** The next leaf with no signature letter contains the beginning of the English lines, signed on the verso of this leaf **A. M.** and the fourth leaf con-

tains the short prose account of **THE/VERSE**, printed in italic type and ending on the verso of this leaf. The portrait, which precedes and faces the title page was separately printed on a plate press, then wrapped around the four preliminary leaves, and the stub of the blank conjugate leaf in a sound copy shows between the verso of the fourth preliminary leaf and the first page of the **B** Signature.

Apparently, except throughout Book 12, the full, normal page, such as page 99, carried thirty-four lines of text, with the catchword set below the bottom line of text on a line with the signature letter if the latter is present. Throughout Book 12, the full page contains only thirty-three lines of type, probably in order to force a better balance of print on page 333, the final printed page of the book. The texts of three Books, 2, 6, and 12, open at the tops of pages 28, 146, and 314 respectively. Page 28 contains thirty-two lines of text and thirty-three lines of print, the first line dropping an extra line of space below the running head, with line 3 a runover, and the catchword below the bottom line of text. Page 146 contains thirty-three lines of text and thirty-four lines of print, also dropping the first line an extra line of space below the running head, with line 2 a runover, but with the catchword set on the bottom line, not below it. Page 314 contains only thirty-one lines of text and thirty-two lines of print, the first line dropping an extra line of space below the running head, with line 2 a runover, and the catchword below the bottom line of text. Other unusual pages are 112, 128, 136, 280, and 300, each with thirty-three lines of text and the catchwords two line spaces below the bottom lines of text; and 142 and 143, each with only thirty-two lines of text and the catchwords two line spaces below the bottom lines of text. Pages 68 and 254 each contain 35 lines of text and their catchwords are printed on, not below, the bottom lines of text.

In the **K** Signature, apparently the discovery was made during the type-setting process that if the normal number of lines, thirty-four, were printed to the page, the final page of the signature, page 144, would either be blank or it would be necessary to begin Book 6 on it. This is the only place in the entire layout of the book in which such a decision as this had to be made, all other such breaks in the poem occurring well within signatures, or, conveniently in one case, Book 8, page 193, beginning after the end of one signature on the first page of the next. But in **K** the composer began shortening his pages by moving one line from the bottom of page 136 to the top of the next page, continuing through the pages in order as he set them. Then he found that he still would have nothing from Book 5 for page 144, and took two lines each from pages 142 and 143. The result of all this was page 144, containing only four lines of text, but their presence there allowed the next sheet to begin with the next Book.

VII.

THE NUMBER OF COPIES PRINTED

HOW MANY COPIES of the second edition were printed in 1674? No definite answer can be given to this question; but the matter is not beyond conjecture, and there are some facts that concern, if they fail to clarify it. The same upper limit, twelve hundred fifty to fifteen hundred copies, would have operated then as for the first edition. This limit, apparently begun in the sixteenth century, is rather specific in an entry in the *Stationers' Registers, 1554-1640*, volume 2:83,

11^o Decembris [1587. 29 Elizabethæ] . . .

As concerninge Do[u]ble impressions or impressions of greate numbers. *viz.* xxv^e [2500] of a forme: YT IS AGREED that they shalbe reformed and none suche vsed to the hinderance of the said Jornemen/

Excepte the *Grammer* and *Accidence*/ whereof iiiij impressions may be donne of xxv^e [2500] vpon a forme in anie one yeare. And if there be aboue iiiij impressions printed in anie one yeare, the reste shalbe but xij^e *Dimidium* [1250] vpon a forme. . . .

The same restrictions were adopted as 'Orders,' according to Arber, in the spring of 1588, see *Stationers' Registers, 1554-1640*, volume 2:43,

A Copie of certen orders concerning printing.

1 ffyrst that no formes of letters be kept standinge to the preiudice of Woorkemen at any tyme

2 Secondly that no booke to be printed excede the number of 1250 or 1500 at one ympression except any book whatsoeuer of the non pareille letter [6 point type] and the brevier letter [8 point type], and also except iiiij ympressions yerely of the *grammer* and lykwise iiiij ympressions yerely of the *Accidence* seuerall[y] in 4^{to} or 8^{uo} and also all *prymers* and *Catechisms*. and that euery of th[e] impressions of grammers *Accidences* *prymers* and *Catechismes* and of all bookes of the none pareill letter and brevier letter be not aboue 2500 or 3000 at the most . . .

Too little is known of the enforcement of these regulations, and caution must be used in applying them, see R. B. McKerrow's *Introduction to Bibliography*, 1927, pages 130-133, and 214 note.

The first edition of the poem, largely because of the existing copy of the contract, can be closely approximated for number of copies, and the number of copies existing today can be made a definite proportional number to the total number of copies printed in that edition. Can the same process be used to indicate the number of copies in the second edition? That is, Simmons paid Milton five pounds in 1669 after selling thirteen hundred copies of the first edition, and, about 1940, there were perhaps two hundred copies of the first edition in existence. For the second edition, slightly more than fifty copies have been located and used, directly or indirectly, in making this facsimile edition. Can the number of copies printed in 1674 be recovered from these simple figures? No absolute claim can be made for the validity of the results obtained from such figures; but at least there must be some relationship existing between the number of known extant copies of any old book and the size of the edition of that book. There are several factors in the situation of the second edition of *Paradise Lost* that must be kept in mind, however, in any attempt to recover the size of the edition from such figures. The second edition has never been intensively 'collected' from the time of its first printing to the present day. Many great collections of editions of Milton's works lack the second edition of *Paradise Lost* entirely, and others have but one or two poor copies of it, although every collection of Milton's works that is worth mentioning contains several copies of the first edition of the poem. Of course, in comparison with the first edition, there has been little reason in the past for any collection to contain more than one copy of the second edition, although, due to the multiple title pages of the first, almost every collection, public or private, has or tries to have copies of more than one title page of the

first edition. Thus, on the basis of the number of copies located for use in the present edition, slightly more than fifty copies of the second edition seem to exist today, whereas perhaps as many as one hundred seventy-five, or even as many as two hundred whole or fragmentary copies of the first edition were known to exist about 1940. But because of the 'uncollected' phase of the second edition, it would be wise arbitrarily to double the number of 1674 copies located, and assume that there may be about one hundred existing copies of it extant today. In the same fashion, the number of copies actually assembled for direct use, twenty-two of the second as compared with over fifty of the first edition, yields roughly the same proportion, or about one half as many. It would be most misleading to use the proportion formed by copies actually located of the two editions, which would argue for a second edition only about one fourth as large as the first, or as few as four hundred copies. But if the number of copies actually located is doubled, then the proportion points towards a second edition about half as large as the first, or an edition of about seven or eight hundred copies. And I doubt very much if the second edition of *Paradise Lost* was much larger than that. Bentley in 1732 clearly assumed that the poem had made its reputation on the circulation of the first edition, and had attained that reputation for itself and for its author before the second edition was printed. Of course Bentley can always be suspected of special pleading in support of his thesis, and certainly his assumption in connection with the circulation of the first edition was to the advantage of that thesis. But no such bias exists for Richardson's statement regarding the scarcity, by 1734, of copies of the second edition, only sixty years after its publication. Then too, I am inclined to believe that Simmons paid Elizabeth Milton all that he owed her, and perhaps more than he owed her. That is, I doubt very much that the second edition was printed in an edition as large as thirteen hundred copies, and, according to the contract, the sale of any number less than that could, at best, be only proportionately paid for, if paid for at all. Thus, an edition of only eight hundred copies, even if sold out, could not have required a payment of five pounds and might not legally have called for any payment at all. Nothing is known of the size of the third edition, although I have noted its appearance for sale from time to time and acquired perhaps a half dozen copies of it. My impression of its number is that it was printed in about as many copies as was the second edition, thus aping the second in this respect as it certainly did in format and contents. That is, there is no reason to suppose that the third edition was printed in any greater number of copies than the second. I have no desire to labor the point beyond reason, or even to the degree of seeming to be unnecessarily defending Simmons from the charge of niggardliness towards Elizabeth Milton, cast on him by Masson and others. But the promptness with which Simmons paid Milton himself the second five pounds and the allegedly dilatory and seemingly sharp practice with the widow have always seemed to me to call for more explanation than has ever been forthcoming. Under the terms of the contract of 1667, Elizabeth could have demanded an accounting at any time, and thus have been fully aware of the number of copies sold of first, second, or third edition. If both the second and third editions, in number of copies, were far below the minimum figure called for in the contract, then all elements in the transaction recorded in the receipt and release signed by Elizabeth Milton are properly accounted for. Tonson, see Miss Darbshire, *The Manuscript of Milton's Paradise Lost, Book I*, page xi ff., called Simmons 'able & substantial' and no contemporary aspersion was cast on him for his treatment of the widow.

Although too little is known of the third edition, that of 1678, to throw much light on the size of the second edition, 1674, the great folio edition of 1688 unexpectedly provides some information that is pertinent here. The list of subscribers, present in most copies of this edition, covering six pages in double columns, contains the names of about five hundred fifty persons, and the subscriptions for about five hundred sixty copies of the book, several persons subscribing

for more than one copy. As this book was an expensive undertaking, apparently sold only by subscription and sold out thereby, it is extremely doubtful if the edition was much larger than the number of copies subscribed for, or about six hundred. There is, of course, no connection whatever known to exist between the second and fourth editions, and thus no reason that the small, three shilling octavo second edition should in any way be physically compared with the large folios of 1688. But actually, perhaps only by accident, the number of surviving copies of each of these editions appears to be about the same. This may be only a coincidence, and of no real significance; or it may mean that the number of copies printed off of each was by accident about the same, and again, the second edition, 1674, would seem to have been one of less than a thousand copies.

Thus, many signs point towards a much smaller number of copies printed for the second edition, 1674, than for the first edition, 1667. These signs, in chronological order are: Simmons settled with the widow for less than the amount called for in the contract, which may mean that considerably fewer copies were printed for both second and third editions than the thirteen hundred copies that called for a five-pound payment at the end of each, or when each had sold out at least thirteen hundred copies. Bentley, in 1732, insisted that the poem had made its way and reputation almost entirely on the circulation of the copies of the first edition alone, indicating that so far as he was concerned, copies of that edition were much more readily available than copies of the second edition. Richardson, two years later in 1734, insisted that the second edition was a very scarce edition, and copies of it difficult to come by, as Peck also insisted, in 1740, by naming the actual copy he used. Tonson, sometime after the appearance of Bentley's edition in 1732, in the letter transcribed and printed by Miss Darbshire, *The Manuscript of Milton's Paradise Lost, Book I*, mentions, or seems to be concerned solely about the text of the first edition, as if that was the only early edition he knew or cared about. All these factors contribute a little to the general impression that the second edition of the poem was much smaller than the first. Added to these early indications is the fact that the number of surviving copies of it is much smaller in comparison with the number of copies surviving of the first edition, and, though the bases of any absolute number of surviving copies of the second edition scarcely as yet exist, the general trend of the evidence seems to be that the second edition was only about half as large as the first, or at least was considerably smaller in number of copies.

VIII.

COMPARISON OF THE 1674 AND 1667 TEXTS

IT IS DIFFICULT TO MAKE a comparison of the texts of the first and second editions of *Paradise Lost* that as such has much value apart from actual use and comparison of the two editions in their respective originals. Long familiarity through extensive and intensive use of both editions is essential to an adequate understanding of either or both, and then only slowly comes a sense rather than an exact knowledge of the relationships that exist between the two. And much of the slowly acquired sense of their relationships will inevitably be a matter of taste rather than one of fact. Masson and others have expressed a decided preference for the printing style and format of the first edition over the second that once seemed to me to be a little silly. But extensive and intensive use of both editions has led me to at least some understanding of what lay back of that preference. To read the poem in its second edition after having read it in the first is almost like entering another world. The type is smaller and the pages seem cramped and niggardly treated after the ampler layout and treatment of the first. I think that the reader most misses the rules surrounding the type in the first edition. Then too, the lack of line numbers in the second edition of course is distressing, especially for purposes of cross reference; but their absence alone should not so much detract as something certainly does from the pleasure or satisfaction engendered by reading the poem in its second edition. Thus, the two different formats create a sort of intangible barrier between each other that I cannot entirely overcome. For reading and general use, I find that, along with Masson, I prefer the first edition. Certainly part of the reason for this preference arises from my dislike of small books for actual use. This dislike is of course most unfair to the second edition. After all, it is of its age, not of ours, and that age was one in which small type, crowded pages, and poor presswork were not only taken for granted, but probably the first two of these three characteristics were actually preferred. Consider Milton's *Epistolae* published almost simultaneously with the second edition of *Paradise Lost*. They were published in an even smaller format, as the *History of Moscovia* (1680) was to be a few years later. That taste, if it was a taste, for smaller and smaller books which led to Pickering's Diamond Classics of the middle of the nineteenth century, themselves direct descendants of the early seventeenth century Elzevir duodecimos and smaller foldings, was one that produced books so small that I cannot relish the reading of them. I find a heavy book difficult to hold and manipulate; but 12, or even 14 point type is very welcome in any format, and ample margins make a difference. In fairness to the second edition of *Paradise Lost*, I must add that for general reading purposes I would gladly pass up both first and second editions for one of the generous Newton quartos, or Todd's second edition (1809), and of the moderns, Beeching in one of the Clarendon's larger formats is superb, as are Grierson's beautifully printed two volumes. The desire of recent years for quaintness in Milton texts which has resulted in some queer general purpose editions of Milton's poetry, I cannot share. The old, uncertain spelling bothers me, and the long 'f's' cannot lure me with their double uncertainty. And I heartily dislike the uneven thickness of old papers. Thus, perhaps so far as my personal prejudices are concerned, the second edition fares not too badly.

But reading preferences really have nothing to do with the merits of the two slightly different texts of the first and second editions. Strictly on the point of their respective merits, comparison is most difficult to make real and pointed. It has been said that the Elizabethans generally wished to be at once diffuse and pointed, which combination is impossible. It is just as impossible for me to try to say something here of a general nature about the two editions and at the same

time to be specific enough to have my remarks of value in the creation of an understanding of the precise differences between the two texts. Only a great deal of study slowly leads to an understanding of the actual differences between the two, and the trail of my study is to be found, not in these introductory remarks, but in the notes to both texts, not even in either taken separately. After such study, there still remains the task of effecting a union between the two sets of notes, and that process requires patience and cogitation. The value of the work of any textual editor lies almost entirely in his accuracy, and that accuracy can never rise above the level of his inherent honesty. The temptation to interpret, to supply, then to distort, to state that 'it' *must* read so, to force assumptions about an author's intent or a printer's accomplishment, is a constant and complex one. The editor cannot drop his guard for a moment, or he may succumb to the temptation. The luxury of all speculation is denied the textual editor. He is allowed only the drudgery of endless examination and exact reproduction of originals. Some of this I have partly avoided by the use of photography, perhaps to my ultimate sorrow, for photography is unable to do everything, and in any form leaves much to be desired. And, unlike certain other editors, I cannot fall back on a mania for a particular form of photographic reproduction. I have chosen the form which I have used because it would allow the use in any combination of photograph and letterpress, which certain other and no doubt partly more satisfactory processes of photographic reproduction would not so easily have permitted. And whether I have used half tone or line, black and white, or, as I might have, color, to mention only a few phases of photographic reproduction, my sole aim has been to produce a text, not reproductions of old books, or papers, or type.

The text of the second edition of *Paradise Lost* is a better text than that of the first edition, chiefly because the compositor who set the type for it was a better craftsman than the compositor who set the type for the first edition. Perhaps he was better only because he had before him the work of the compositor of the first edition, together with the corrections. But the craftsmanship of the 1674 compositor is better than that of 1667. The general if not the whole matter of spelling in *Paradise Lost* is largely a matter of the compositor's spelling, and the man who set the second edition had more orthoëpic and linguistic sense than the compositor of the first edition. He also seemed to have had more experience with setting poetry, although the evidence for this point is utterly intangible. On the whole, the 1674 compositor did a good job, his occasional lapses, however, being more easily understood than those of his corrector or proofreader. The result generally was a text that needs only an understanding of what was involved in the lapses, but that can come only from knowing a great deal about the first edition and how its text was made. Peck in his *Memoirs*, 1740, page 97, mentioned a copy of the first edition 'corrected by Milton himself,' from which he says the second edition was made, but if the copy to which he refers ever actually existed, as one similar to what he describes must have existed, it has long since disappeared, as Peck said it had. Miss Darbishire's wise and thoughtful statements in her introduction to her facsimile edition of the Manuscript of the first book are forever salutary and valuable to the editor of Milton's poetry, although the 1667 and 1674 deliberate rejection of readings of the Manuscript are sometimes most disconcerting. But Miss Darbishire allowed for such a condition, and her statement, quoted below, of the persistent problems confronting the editor of the texts of Milton's poetry cannot be improved on as an epitome of those problems.

The second edition of *Paradise Lost* presents the text of the poem to us about as Milton wanted it presented, and yet its text retains too many traces of the first edition that are unwanted. Not that these traces are so numerous, but the unchanged **Foul** of Book 7:451 for what almost certainly should have been printed 'soul' or 'Soul' and the retention of a metrically short line followed by one that is too long, Book 10:989-90, in their unchanged states throughout three editions, 1667, 1674, and 1678, remain a mystery.

Chiefly because I have wished to record these direct impressions as soon as possible after their formation, I have come to a decision regarding some points of difference between the first and second editions, and between clarity and obscurity. Of course the clarity and obscurity are my own. I have therefore decided to include in the textual footnotes my preferences, if I have any, for this or that textual reading. No one needs to accept these preferences, any more than my understanding of such lines as indicated by my preference for punctuation need be accepted. These preferences can do no harm, as the originals are herein always available, and indeed all these interpretations can be completely ignored if unwanted.

The differences between the text of the second edition of *Paradise Lost* and that of the first edition are too complex to describe accurately and adequately, except as they are found in the *minutiae* of the notes in the second and third volumes of this edition. Generalizations of a comparative nature, without the actual evidence, are exceedingly misleading, and hence dangerous. The best statement ever to see print concerning the two texts is that by Miss Darbishire, see *The Manuscript of Milton's Paradise Lost, Book I*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1931, pages xliv-xlvii, as follows:

The second edition published in 1674, the last year of Milton's life, was, according to the title-page, 'Revised and Augmented by the Author'. The ten books were rearranged as twelve, and lines of introduction added to the newly numbered Books VIII and XII. Milton went carefully through the text, altering a few words and phrases, and in two places adding new lines.³ (3V. 636, xi. 484. At xi. 548, one line is amplified to two.) He saw to it that the spelling of the unemphatic pronoun *thir* for *their* was carried through the first book where it had been neglected in the first edition,⁴ [refers to her discussion of this point on pages 72 and 73] but beyond this he made no systematic revision of faulty spellings.¹ [Refers in a footnote to a number of examples.] There is no doubt that the second edition corrects and revises the first, but neither is there any doubt that it introduces fresh errors. In the first book the four places noted in the *Errata* of 1668, at lines 25, 409, 758, and 760, are corrected in the second edition, which moreover agrees with the manuscript in the following right spellings and pointings: *Briareos* for *Briarios* Ed. 1, line 199; *Hierarchie* for *Herarchie* Ed. 1, line 737; *him* for *him*, Ed. 1, line 370. But in other places the second edition, disagreeing with both manuscript and first edition, goes astray: *power*, for *power* Ed. 1 and manuscript, line 112; *Aroar* for *Aroer* Ed. 1 and manuscript, line 407; *hight* for *highth* Ed. 1 and manuscript, line 552; *Kings* for *Kings*, Ed. 1 and manuscript, line 694; *Beelzebub* for *Bëelzebub* and *Béélzebub* Ed. 1 and manuscript, lines 81 and 271.² [Cites Grierson's use of *Aroar* 1:407.] Of verbal alterations in the first book, one at line 504 springs from a deliberate second thought, and must be accepted without question:

. . . and that night
In Gibeah, when hospitable Dores
Yielded thir Matrons to prevent worse rape.

becomes in the second edition

In Gibeah, when the hospitable door
Expos'd a Matron to avoid worse rape.

Two others, championed by Professor Grierson, remain difficult to accept as author's corrections: at line 530 'Thir fainting' (should be fainting) 'courage' for 'Their fainted courage' of the first edition, where the context seems to support 'fainted' (the collapse is over, their courage is not *fainting*, it begins to revive); and at line 703, 'found out the massie Ore' for 'founded', where the first edition's 'founded' seems clearly right—'found out' only possible by a forced interpretation, and at the best ambiguous.¹ [Points out in a footnote that Grierson defends 'found out' in his Preface, but preserves 'founded' in his text.] The manuscript in both places supports the reading of the first edition. Throughout the poem the balance on small matters of spelling, punctuation, omission or mistake, seems about even, the second edition now correcting rightly, now letting an error slip in. I judge that Milton spent more time and pains in supervising the textual minutiae of his first edition than he could bring himself to spend on the second. The human probabilities point that way.

The manuscript gives no decisive answer to the question, which printed text is authoritative? But the three texts read side by side, manuscript, first edition, and second edition, provoke some reflections. Milton took unusual pains to prepare an accurate text for his printer, employing a careful scribe, and careful correctors; he supervised proof-correction of the first edition in 1667, overhauled the book for a page of errata in 1668, and revised the text once more for a second edition in 1674. The urge to perfection was there, and Milton was worthily aided, but the tendency

to err is inseparable from human beings and their machines. Neither amanuenses, nor compositors, nor correctors whether of author's manuscript or of printer's proof, nor even authors themselves are incapable of making mistakes. At every stage where corrections are made, new errors creep in. Moreover Milton was blind, and though gifted with a noble patience, he did not dictate the spelling, letter by letter, of every word his amanuensis wrote: nor did he correct the printer's proofs, letter by letter and point by point, from beginning to end. There survive in the text of *Paradise Lost* some of his scribe's spellings and pointings, some of the correctors' and some of the compositors', which a single glance of Milton's eye would have condemned, and a stroke of his pen put right. A wise editor of *Paradise Lost* will prepare himself for his task by an intimate study of the manuscript of Book I, side by side with the two first printed texts. This will teach him to step warily, yet with a sense that some footing is secure, in the difficult paths of spelling and punctuation. He will base his text upon the second edition, since it embodies the author's latest corrections, but he will purge it of minor errors by a careful collation with the first, and, for the first book, with the manuscript. He will allow a margin for human fallibility, and the better he knows Milton, the less inclined will he be either to undervalue minute detail or to overvalue mechanical consistency.

It is difficult to improve on this statement, or to add much to what Miss Darbishire has said therein concerning the comparison between the two texts, 1667 and 1674. Certainly no editor of Milton's text can afford to neglect her suggestions and warnings. She has well stated the real difficulty, which is that it is extremely difficult, when it is not impossible, to discriminate between variants as found in the two texts, because in so many instances of variation there is little possibility of determining whether author or author's representative, compositor, or corrector was responsible for the variation. That is, in 1674 it almost seems as if Simmons had forced the author to agree to accept what was printed from the copy Milton submitted. In the 1667 text, alterations during the printing were found to be numerous, and the one state of the C Signature of that edition clearly shows that the compositor started setting from the still extant Manuscript, then changed to conform with what must surely have been author's corrections, not of the Manuscript, but of the proof or early sheets from the press. The evidence for such changes in the 1667 text exist so far as I know only in copy 12 of the first edition, see my volume 2:238-247. Few such liberties were allowed, apparently, during the printing of the second edition. Some changes made in 1674 from 1667 offer insuperable difficulties, chiefly because it is impossible to tell whether they were, as they may have been, changes made by the author, or changes made by the print shop corrector, or perhaps even by the compositor during the process of setting the type. Such a case in point is that found in 1674, Book 9:394 of the 1667 Book 8:394 'Likeſt ſhe feemd,' which 1674 changed to **Likelieſt** and so reads in all 1674 copies examined. What sort of change was this, and which word should be preferred? Anyone familiar with the history of these two words as used here will forever be unable to choose between them. The two words 'like' and 'likely' were apparently interchangeable until well after the middle of the seventeenth century. Then too, in this instance, there is the possibility of the compositor's frequent confusion in discriminating between 'i' and 'l' as seen in the 1598 quarto of *Love's Labors Lost*, 4:2:88, in which the apparently impossible form 'likleſt' occurs, and which tells us exactly nothing. Is the second 'l' superfluous, or was the compositor setting 'likliest' but left out the second 'i' or confused it with the 'l' and then failed to change it? For this Shakespearean printing, no solution need be attempted here. Other occurrences of the word 'likeſt' in *Paradise Lost* appear in Book 2:756, Book 3:572, and Book 6:301; and, the one under discussion here, Book 9 (Book 8 of 1667):394; each of the other occurrences printing 'likeſt' in both editions, only the fourth and last reading 'Likeſt' in 1667 and **Likelieſt** in 1674. About all that can be said here finally is that it would be a rash editor of the text of *Paradise Lost* who did more than point out the difference in the two editions.

But the most difficult of all decisions to make are found in the punctuation. Miss Darbishire, page xli, mildly urges the importance of the punctuation found in the Manuscript for twenty-two different cases. Her claims are most reasonable; but her list includes one case involving

punctuation and her transcription another, probably only a capital, not in her list, page xli, but in her transcription, page 43, that cannot be accepted, namely, Book 1:569, views; in Manuscript, and Book 1:682, gold, in Manuscript. She prints views, and Gold, respectively as the readings of the first edition, whereas copy 12 only of that edition reads views; and gold, showing that the manuscript readings were first set and then, due to the condition of this form in copy 12, were almost certainly changed to the reading of all other copies of the 1667 text examined. The 1674 edition followed the second state of 1667. Such a condition certainly cannot be taken to mean that every difference between the Manuscript of the first book and the printing of 1667 is suspect; but with equal certainty, these circumstances for this form mean that one cannot be sure of how much of the Manuscript was intentionally altered in the 1667 printing, and, if such is the case, then one cannot be sure of how many of the differences between 1667 and 1674 texts were unintentional. In some instances, therefore, I have taken the liberty in the notes of expressing a preference now and then for the reading of one text as opposed to the other, or for the Manuscript alone or with one or the other printed text as opposed to either one or both. As all three texts are available in this edition, the reader can compare all of them and see for himself.

The 1674 compositor set his type from a corrected copy of the 1667 text, and the internal nature of this copy can be reconstructed from my notes so far as the states of its signatures are concerned. In this 1667 copy of the text, Milton had had his amanuenses, perhaps principally Edward Phillips, make the changes in the Arguments and text that made twelve out of the original ten Books; add new lines at the beginning of the new Books 8 and 12, and occasionally elsewhere; change the reading in various lines throughout the poem; alter the punctuation here and there; make sure that all the 1668 *Errata* except the one involving Book 2:414 were carried out; and attempt to secure greater uniformity in the stressed and unstressed forms of the personal pronouns, me he she we their and theirs. He succeeded very well in securing the changes he wanted in the prose Arguments, and also with the added lines at the beginnings of the two new Books, as well as here and there elsewhere. But he was not so successful with his other desired changes, though whether his lack of success was due to his amanuensis or to the compositor is difficult if not impossible to determine. Perhaps all three persons concerned, amanuensis, compositor, and corrector failed to understand exactly what Milton wanted, or perhaps the amanuensis failed to make clear the exact word or phrase which Milton wished to change, as several senseless changes occur in lines that are near other lines containing almost exactly the same word or words, and the failure may be accounted for in this manner. A copy of the first edition, properly marked, was used by the 1674 compositor, and the work proceeded very much as Milton had had the copy marked. However, in the second edition, it is apparent to anyone who knows how Milton worked over his manuscripts that he changed his mind even about changes he had already made. Thus, all but one of the 1668 *Errata* have been changed, and I can scarcely believe that the one unchanged was inadvertently omitted by either amanuensis or by the compositor. As pointed out in the notes, it seems to me that Milton changed his mind about it and deliberately let the form we (Book 2:414) stand because he finally decided that the syllable should not be accented. In many other cases, he failed to note, or his amanuenses failed to record, or the compositor failed to set the accented forms of some pronouns. In fewer instances, the accented form of the first edition seems wrong, but has not been changed in the second. Sometimes the unaccented form of the first edition is printed in the accented form in 1674, although it seems pointless to me to accent it. Of course this is a delicate matter, as the case cited above will quickly demonstrate. But we cannot be certain in any particular case of accent or stress with which we may disagree that Milton actually succeeded in getting the form he wanted in print. I believe that he succeeded in getting most of these dual form pronouns printed

in the form he desired, but by no means all. The punctuation of the 1674 edition offers the textual editor the same problem. Much of it that is changed from the first edition is obviously changed for the better; but some of the changes, if they are changes, seem almost certainly wrong. But exactly which ones are wrong beyond a doubt? On this point there can be only one editorial principle adhered to, and the application of that principle the camera mercifully permits. That principle is to reproduce exactly what Milton's printer put on paper.

Much has been argued in the past from similar passages, usages, and constructions in other passages anywhere in Milton's works, these other usages being used in favor of, or in opposition to, a particular usage in *Paradise Lost*. But frequently such appeals are fruitless, for Milton was inconsistent with himself in such matters, as anyone who has ever attempted to transcribe much of his holograph manuscript work soon discovers, whether with matters of spelling, punctuation, syntax, or meaning of words, and in addition was enough of a belated Elizabethan to relish verbal and punctuational experimentation.

In short, the textual editor of Milton's poetry is nowhere in greater difficulty than with the text of *Paradise Lost*, as we have it today, if he takes his work seriously. He must select the text of the second edition as basic; but he cannot omit at least in footnotes the variants from the Manuscript of the First Book and from the first edition. But, as with the earlier poetry, though much more frequently, in many instances he will be unable to determine exactly which reading Milton preferred.

There were between eight and nine hundred changes made in the 1674 edition of *Paradise Lost* from that of 1667, counting only those changes that actually called for a different setting of type, and disregarding all those that arose from differences of format, layout, size of type, or style of type font employed. These changes may be roughly classified, and the categories thereby formed are of various degrees of importance to the textual editor. The following classification of type changes from 1667 to 1674 takes into account the principal kinds of changes that were discovered:

1. Those changes called for in the page of *Errata* first printed in 1668, all but one of which, Book 2:414, were corrected in 1674.
2. Simple changes in spelling, such as in Book 1:33, 'fowl' of 1667 changed to foul in 1674.
3. Changes in the initial letters of words from capital to lower case or from lower case letters to capitals.
4. Changes from roman type in 1667 to italic type in 1674, or vice versa.
5. Changes in punctuation other than those few called for in the *Errata*.
6. Spelling changes intended to indicate light or heavy metrical stress in the line, principally in pronouns.
7. Changes that alter the meter of the lines, principally to rectify metrically deficient lines, such as that in Book 10:827.
8. Changes in meaning, such as that in Book 1:504 ff.
9. Added material, such as that in Book 12:1-5, and similar additions elsewhere in the second edition.
10. Errors made by the 1674 compositor, including foul case, and those arising from a rather obvious intent to make a change in one line, and actually making the change in another, such as in Book 1:349, Book 3:406, 408, and elsewhere.

The individual changes found in these various categories have different values to the textual editor, ranging from almost nothing to great importance, and the categories by no means agree in the number or extent of the changes which they contain, some involving very few, and others involving a great many changes.

The changes contained in the first of these categories were faithfully carried out, except for the one called for in Book 2:414, in which particular case, it seems to me that Milton probably changed his mind between 1668 and 1674, and left the pronoun unstressed, as it seemingly should be.

The simple changes in spelling, those without any complicating factor connected with them, are practically without significance to us today, although many of Milton's apparent spelling preferences such as 'Childern' 'hunderd' 'voutsafe' were virtually eliminated by them in 1674, except as the 1674 compositor overzealously followed the 1667 emended copy.

The changes of initial letters to or from capital letters are equally insignificant today, especially in the face of our rigid rules of printing style governing such matters, and these changes have had little significance textually since the eighteenth century.

But beginning with the fourth category, the remaining kinds of changes begin to take on considerable if unequal importance, especially to the textual editor. Changes in punctuation can be of great importance, and many of those made in 1674 are. But some 1674 changes on the other hand are either in absolute error, or it is impossible today to understand exactly what Milton wanted, as in Book 6:666, and elsewhere. Perhaps most annoying of all are those lines in which the punctuation as printed, sometimes in both 1674 and 1667, and sometimes in 1674 only, obviously calls for a radical change that has not been made in either edition. However, for those changes in punctuation that are apparently deliberate, or that make better sense than the 1667 punctuation, we can only be grateful to Milton, to Edward Phillips, to Simmons or to his compositor or corrector, or to the person unknown who instigated these changes.

Although of much less value today than Milton intended them to be, those spelling changes involving the indication of light or heavy metrical stress within the lines, that is, such changes as from 'their' to 'thir' or 'me' to 'mee' or vice versa and similar cases, at least give us a closer understanding now and then of Milton's precise metrical intent. These changes, although actually spelling changes, cannot be exactly disregarded today as mere changes in spelling. They must be studied in connection with all similar occurrences and passages in any attention paid today to Milton's metrical intentions.

Changes sometimes of entire words in order to secure the proper metrical quantities or qualities, such as in Book 10:827, are of considerable consequence, because they show the care with which at least part of the revision of the first edition was made. Such a change as that in Book 12:238 is an astounding performance coming from a blind author, utterly dependent on others, for it required not only a delicate perspicacity to discover the need for the change, but also the pertinacity to insure that the change was made. But the very reverse of this process is to be found in Book 11:427 and, unfortunately, elsewhere, indicating how fallible were amanuenses, compositors, correctors, and other readers generally.

Deliberate changes in sense, as in Book 1:504 ff., are, of course, of serious consequence to both general reader and textual editor, whenever and wherever they occur, and therefore need no particular emphasis or explanation here, as they speak for themselves. In the same way, the added material, whenever and wherever it occurs, as in Book 12:1-5, needs no special attention here.

The errors of the 1674 edition are less numerous, certainly, than those of 1667, largely because the 1674 compositor had before him a corrected copy of the 1667 edition by which he was guided, but often, and indeed, too slavishly, he followed its errors and vagaries. Thus, in some ways, the 1674 text is not entirely an improvement on that of 1667, as it retains many errors from 1667, and in addition adds new ones of its own making. But the total number of such errors, whether repeated from 1667 or new ones, is actually less than the number of errors found in the 1667 textual printing, because most of the 1667 errors, if not quite all of them, were corrected in 1674. Many of the errors committed by the 1674 compositor were caused by what printers used to call

foul case, and many a time the compositor set from his stock of periods what he thought would print as a period, only to print a comma; or he set an intended comma, and printed a battered semicolon, or vice versa. In Book 2:136 undoubtedly occurs an example of the use of a foul case letter u for 'n'; but there are fewer instances of this in 1674 for letters than can be readily found in the 1667 text. Indeed, most of the foul case in 1674 occurs in the punctuation.

It is impossible, of course, to be certain of those cases in which the compositor or corrector or both, intending to make some particular change, actually made another and unintended one. The notes contain several suggested instances of this process, and I am reasonably certain that such a process occurred not just once, but several times in the course of the composition and correction of the 1674 printing. But it is today impossible to be precise about this matter. Those cases to which I have called attention in the notes as being perhaps of this nature seem to me to be most easily explained as having arisen in this way. Otherwise, they are inexplicable. Much more study of standard printing practice of the time, and particularly of books and other materials printed by Simmons needs to be made before anything like absolute certainty in such cases can be obtained. Indeed, further study of the practices in the Simmons print shop might provide more information on which to base an opinion of the state of the text, 1674, or 1667, than can be attempted herein.

One further observation of considerable importance arose from my study of the changes between the two editions. That was the general impression amounting almost to a fact that in both printings, 1667 and 1674, that the text gets better as the printing goes on, that is, in both editions, the printing becomes better patterned, as it were, to Milton's vagaries of spelling and punctuation as the compositor proceeded. The unhappy aspect of this situation is that in other respects the compositor continues to suffer lapses almost to the very end of the book. I have discovered, however, that though the number of changes from 1667 to 1674 lessen after the first two books, they remain much more constant by books than I had anticipated might be the case. The figures for the changes by books follow:

Book 1.....	127	Book 7.....	38
Book 2.....	124	Book 8.....	28
Book 3.....	72	Book 9.....	85
Book 4.....	90	Book 10.....	82
Book 5.....	83	Book 11.....	61
Book 6.....	49	Book 12.....	30

I see no particular significance in these figures, as they include changes made by or for Milton by an amanuensis, by Phillips, or by compositor and corrector of the second edition. If an attempt is made to sort out the changes which Milton intended, only the roughest kind of list can be made, for in too many instances there can be no precise determination of the origin of the change, whether from Milton or from compositor and corrector. But for Book 2, using my own judgment, some forty odd changes at the most seem to me to have possibly originated from Milton, and about eighty from the compositor-corrector. Of course these figures are sheer guesswork; but they are at least indicative of an impression that I have formed that Milton, or someone acting for him, may have originated some three hundred or more of the total number of changes found in the second edition. But the number of borderline cases contained therein make such a statement little more than a possibility. Exactly what the real circumstances were in this respect, we can never know, of course. The only value of such guessing from the actual changes noted is the conclusion that, regardless of the origin of the changes, the second edition, from a printer's standpoint, was a highly revised piece of work. My impression that over three hundred of these changes originated from Milton or some one acting for him, would certainly well substantiate the claimed revision of the title page.

IX.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

THE SECOND EDITION OF *Paradise Lost* was provided for in the 1667 contract between Simmons and Milton for the publication of the first edition. The possible appearance of a second edition of the poem was made contingent in the contract on the sales of the first. The second edition was printed during the spring and early summer of 1674, appearing for sale about July 1 of that year, being announced in the *Term Catalogues* for the week of July 6. The edition seems to have been used more in conjunction with the first edition than alone; but was sufficiently well known to have caused the permanent alteration of the poem to the twelve-book form in which it has been printed since 1674. It is a difficult, fascinating, but almost fruitless exercise to try to establish connections between the 1674 edition and all later editions of the poem except that of 1678, the third edition. Growing attention to Milton's works, reflecting itself in the book trade after about 1679 led to other editions of those works, but not to closer attention to the earlier editions of any of them, and this condition especially obscures the early history of the second and third editions of *Paradise Lost*.

The second and third editions were printed by Samuel Simmons, the same printer who printed the first edition, and who held the copyright of the poem for a time after the third edition appeared.

The early biographers provide little or no information about the second edition of the poem that aids us much in understanding its history.

The book was printed in gatherings of eight leaves, in a smaller format, and on less of a variety of paper stocks than the first edition, and, like the first, after about two thirds of the book was printed, the remainder was printed on such similar paper stock as could then be secured. The paper stock measured a little more than seventeen and one half inches by only a little less than fourteen inches to the sheet before folding. It was perhaps printed four pages at a time, or two pulls to the same side of the sheet. The pages are without rules, the running heads carrying the page numbers, the book number, and the title of the poem. The text was printed in 10 point type with the commonly used modified Garamond face. Neither type nor presswork was particularly remarkable. The printing reflects the growing tendency of the time to do away with ornamentation of all kinds. The printing of the poem proper began on page 1 and continued straight through the poem, probably never more than four complete eight page forms or thirty-two pages existing at any one time, and as rapidly as each form was completely printed, the type was washed and redistributed to be used again and again.

Changes were made in the type as the book was being printed, and these changes were apparently of two similar but slightly different kinds. Some few, such as the movement of the apostrophe on page 7, Book 1:171 and again on page 12, Book 1:321 and 347, were almost certainly mere shop changes, or changes made by the compositor without instigation by the author or by a representative of the author. But on page 3, Book 1:17, the deleted comma, and on page 4, Book 1:71 in the change of the unaccented their to thir are changes that seem to have originated with the author or with someone representing him. Thus, printing states occur in 1674, but not with the frequency that they do in the first edition, nor with the significance and import of some of the states of the earlier edition. There are two states of the D Signature of 1674, the rare first state following 1667 exactly, and the commoner second state changing nine spellings in six of the eight pages of the recto as bound. These changes seem to have been instigated by the author or someone representing him. Very few of these changes resulting in

printing states are of much consequence today, the most important of them being merely the change to the stressed or to the unstressed form of one of the pronouns, or a change in punctuation, the other changes being of almost no consequence such as changes from a lower case to a capital initial or the reverse, a slight change in spelling, or a combining of two words, such as *what and ever* in Book 2:442, to form one word. The most valuable aspect of these changes is the indication which they afford as evidence that Milton changed his mind almost endlessly about the details of the text, and changed it sometimes more than once.

The book appeared for sale as a small, unadorned octavo, made to sell for three shillings. Only about fifty copies of the second edition were located for use in this facsimile edition, or less than one fourth of the total number of copies located for the first edition. The total number of copies in the second edition was probably only about half, or a little more than half the number of copies printed in the first edition.

The 1674 text is in many ways superior to the 1667 text, but in other ways it offers us one insoluble enigma after another. It was set from a corrected copy of the first edition, not from a manuscript as its close following, sometimes too close, of what was certainly a single 1667 copy indicates. The new divisions and locations of the prose Arguments, and of the text, together with the additions to the latter, were marked and added to the particular printed 1667 copy used for this purpose. The copy of the first edition so used has long since disappeared, but may have been known long after 1700, and Peck may have been referring to a reality. All but one of the 1668 *Errata* were corrected in 1674. On the whole, the 1674 edition is better printed, smaller, more compact, less attractive to present-day taste, and the text nearer to Milton's last wishes than the first edition. But the second edition is a queer sort of ghost of the first, and not only preserves many errors from the earlier edition, but creates several new ones.

To the present editor, the most disconcerting fact connected with the study of the 1674 edition of *Paradise Lost* is the slowly mounting evidence, sweeping all reluctant admission before it, that the compositor and corrector were responsible for about as much of the state of the text of the poem as we have it today as were Milton and his amanuenses and friends. But this condition or fact arose only partly from his blindness, and was more or less a constant factor in all printing of the century. Thus, I am inclined to believe that throughout Milton's lifetime, and not, as has been too often suggested in the past, only after he became blind, every work he ever printed contains a great many forms that were originated by the compositor in the print shop. Certainly some of these affect the sense, meaning, and poetic euphony of the material, and some of them were caught and changed, whether before or after his blindness. Many were not, and the problem of what Milton would actually have done with them had they come to his attention is absolutely insoluble. Certain it is that then, as now, the compositor and the printer were responsible for much of the final text as we have it, and in Milton's case, only minute study of the printing processes through which his works passed can yield much information of what actually occurred. Sometimes the explanation is rather obvious, and at other times, there is no solution possible. But no other basis than study of the printed texts is feasible.

As an almost invariable practice, not only in England but throughout Europe, printers generally finished the text proper of a book before beginning work on the preliminary material. In the case of the 1674 edition of *Paradise Lost*, all sound copies should carry before the text the four leaves of a half sheet of the same size paper stock as that on which the text was printed. But the watermark of the preliminary half sheet, number 8, nowhere occurs in the text sheets in any copy examined. These four preliminary leaves have the portrait leaf wrapped around their binding folds, with the stub of the right-hand sheet showing between the last leaf of the four and the B leaf of the text. The portrait faces the first of the four leaves.

X.

THE PORTRAIT, TITLE PAGE, AND OTHER PRELIMINARY LEAVES

THERE ARE FIVE LEAVES bound before the text, the first containing the portrait on its verso, with recto blank, the other four leaves being conjugate in pairs. These four leaves were made by folding twice a half sheet of paper stock the same size as that on which the book is printed. On the first of these four leaves is printed the title page, with verso blank, and on the second, with Signature A₂ begins the Latin poem IN/ *Paradisum Amissam/ Summi Poetæ/ JOHANNIS MILTONI.*/ which runs over onto the verso of the same leaf, and is signed S. B. M. D. The next or third leaf [A₃] contains the opening of the poem ON/ *Paradise Lost.*/ which ends on the verso of this leaf and is signed A. M. The Latin poem has always been held to be by Samuel Barrow. The English poem was by Andrew Marvell, see *The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell*, edited by H. M. Margoliouth. 2 volumes. Oxford, 1927, volume 1, pages 131-32 (text), and 260-61 (notes). This poem was printed again in the third edition of *Paradise Lost*, 1678, and was accepted as Marvell's by being printed by the editor of the *Miscellaneous Poems*. By Andrew Marvell. London, 1681, see pages 61-2 of that folio edition.

The fourth leaf of the preliminary gathering is taken up, recto and verso, with the short statement about the verse added in 1668 to the first edition. This last leaf immediately preceded the first leaf of the B Signature containing the opening of the poem.

This preliminary material will be briefly dealt with here, and in the notes to its reproductions, in the order of the occurrence of its various elements. The reproductions then follow the introductory material.

In its condition of original binding, the second edition of *Paradise Lost* is almost duplicated by the condition today of copies 4, 10, 14, 16, and 19, though copies 14 and 16 are bound with the first edition, 1671, and copy 10 is bound with the second edition, 1680, of *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*. But these four copies in their present binding state closely approximate the original arrangement of the various parts of the book. In them, the first printed material originally encountered at the front of the book was the portrait. This is a print from a copper plate, and the print faces the title page with its recto blank as bound. The portrait found in most copies of the second edition of *Paradise Lost* has never been minutely described. John Fitchett Marsh in the *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Liverpool, 1860, volume 12, pages 135-188 came the nearest of anyone who has yet published on the subject to describing the portrait printed in 1674. The 1674 portrait is reduced from the Faithorne print published as a frontispiece in the *History of Britain*, 1670. It is signed 'W. Dolle sculpsit.' and dated '1671.' Otherwise it is a rather faithful copy of the Faithorne print, though much smaller. Marsh and others have noted that the same, or nearly the same print occurs in copies of Milton's *Artis Logicae*, with either of its two title pages, 1672 or 1673. But that is about all the information regarding the 1674 print that has been available.

Close examination of the 1674 prints indicates that the Dolle reproduction of the Faithorne print from the *History of Britain* was a good copy, although the Dolle face is younger and the shape of the head slightly fuller horizontally. Otherwise, Dolle made a good reduced copy of the Faithorne. When it comes to comparisons between prints in the *Artis Logicae* and in the 1674 *Paradise Lost* there is a different story to tell. Close examination of a number of prints in each of the two books shows a fundamental minor difference of detail that could, however, arise

only from slight changes in the same plate. I am inclined to believe that the plate was first used for those prints that occur in some copies of the *Artis Logicae*. No copy of that work examined contained a print of the portrait that fitted the book. This point was conjecturally mentioned in my volume 1, page 9. The plate produced a print too large for a book the size of the *Artis Logicae*, and there can be no answer to the question, 'For what work was the plate originally made?' Spencer Hickman printed the *Artis Logicae*, but he and Simmons may have collaborated on the production of the plate. The Simmons printing establishment certainly owned a plate press, as the work of Matthew demonstrated again and again, and it may well be that Samuel Simmons actually printed the portraits that are today found in many copies of the *Artis Logicae*. Indeed, Simmons may have planned the production of the second edition of *Paradise Lost* for an earlier date than that at which it ultimately appeared, and had thought of using a portrait in it. The prints occurring in all those copies of the *Artis Logicae* before me are in a slightly different state from those in any copy of the 1674 *Paradise Lost* at hand. The readiest points of difference to be noted are those between the stippling in the two foreheads and in the lower lips, in the 1672-73 state the lower lip being high lighted by the omission of all lines in two spots, while in the 1674 prints the lower lip is evenly lined throughout. There are other and more minute differences in the face only which result in the slightly different expressions already mentioned. Even under high magnification, there are no observable differences in the engraving surrounding the oval in which the face occurs. If the engraving was done directly on the copper plate, then the dots added to the forehead and lines of the lower lip would have been graved by needle and burin directly into the copper. If the copper was etched with acid, then the process whereby the plate was slightly modified was that so minutely described by William Faithorne, in his book, *The Art of Graveing and Etching*, London, 1662. The print was produced on a plate press, all copies of it making the outlines of the plate easily discernible to the eye and one can also feel the depression, which the plate forced into the paper. The process by which this was done, including a detailed description of the press and its working, is fully set forth in a paper read by John Evelyn to the Royal Society on May 14, 1662, see part 2 of C. F. Bell's nonphotographic facsimile edition of *Evelyn's Sculptura, with the unpublished Second Part*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906. It may be noted that Faithorne put both forms of his famous etching signature 'F' on the 1670 portrait, and that Dolle, wittingly or unwittingly, carefully reproduced the Faithorne initial signature in the 1672-1674 plate. The two forms of the 'F' one facing each way occur in the ligature 'Æ' of the word 'Ætat.'

After the portrait was printed on the plate press, or 'star wheel' press as Jan Poortenaar and others have called it, see his *Technique of Prints and Art Reproduction Processes*. London: John Lane, 1933, page 45 and *passim*, probably on one half of a quarter sheet, it was bound in the book by wrapping it about the four preliminary leaves that immediately follow it, including the title page. The stub left from cutting off the conjugate blank leaf between the last of the four preliminary leaves and the first page of the text proper, or the B leaf, may be seen in copies 4, 10, 11, 14, 16, 19 and doubtless other extant copies. Those copies of the portrait examined that show any trace of a watermark, contain a portion of the watermark of the first four leaves or one very much like it, see page 36.

THE FAITHORNE PORTRAIT, TAKEN FROM THE *History of Britain*, 1670, ILLINOIS COPY 20



This reproduction is as nearly actual size of the 1670 print as possible. It is bound as a verso page facing the 1670 *History of Britain* title page.

THE DOLLE COPY OF THE FAITHORNE PORTRAIT,
TAKEN FROM THE *Artis Logicae*, 1672,
ILLINOIS COPY I



THE DOLLE COPY OF THE FAITHORNE PORTRAIT,
TAKEN FROM *Paradise Lost*, 1674,
ILLINOIS COPY II



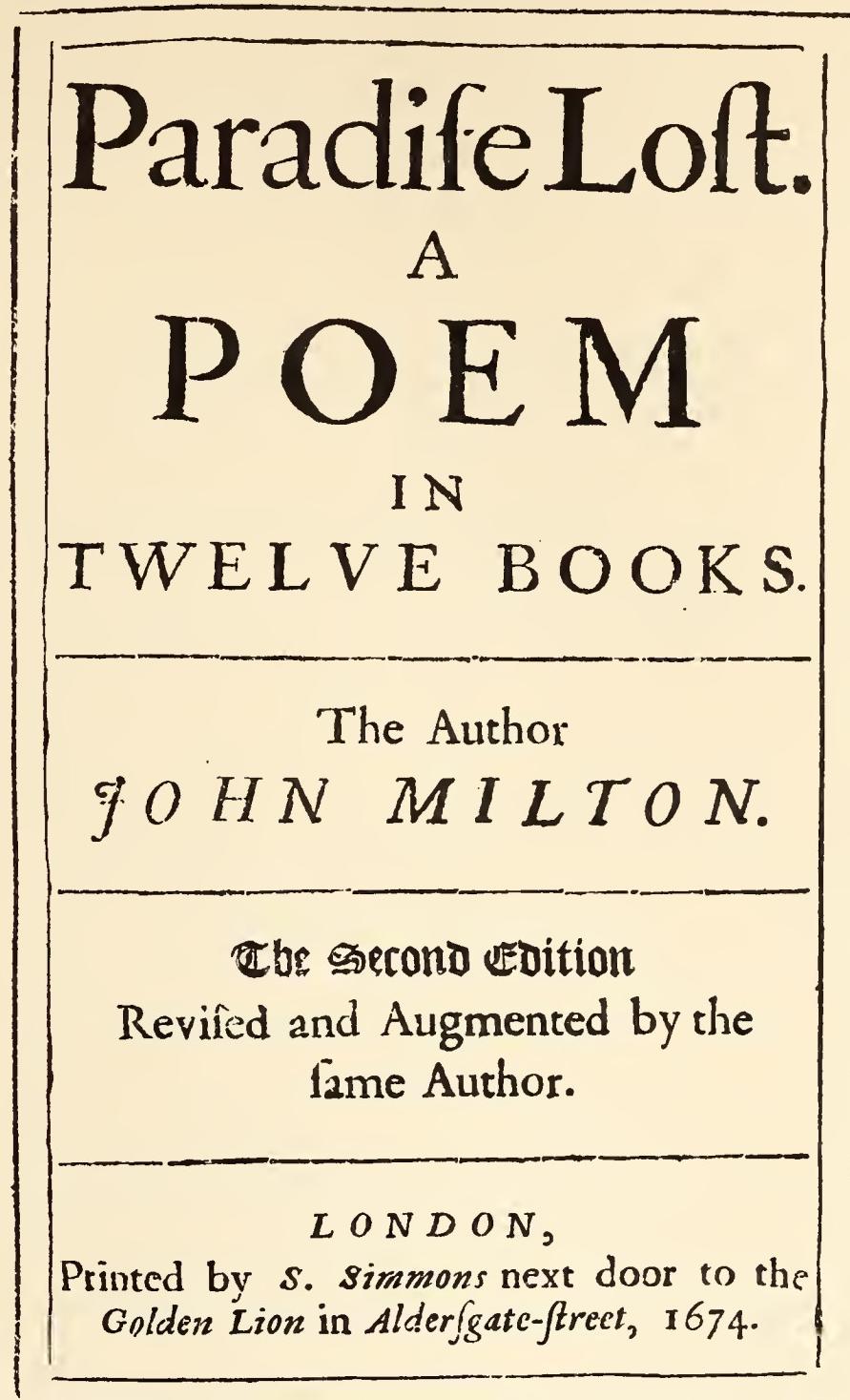
This reproduction of the Dolle etching clearly shows how the print was trimmed to fit the 1672 *Artis Logicae* in which the portrait is bound as a verso to face the title page.

This portrait is a copy of the one dated 1670, first appearing as the frontispiece of the *History of Britain*, London, 1670, and therein signed 'Gul. Faithorne ad Vivum Delin. et sculpsit.' Then in 1672 it was redrawn in this reduced form and etched by W. Dolle for use in the *Artis Logicae*, London, 1672. As it appears in *Paradise Lost*, London, 1674, it is from a second state of the 1672 plate, and is more specifically described herein on pages 60-61. The white spot at upper left is a wormhole in the paper of the copy photographed. The portrait was bound as a verso to face the title page.



THE 1674 PORTRAIT (copy 11)

Not in 1667. The white spot at upper left is a wormhole in the paper of copy 11 as photographed. The portrait was printed in a plate press on a single leaf and for binding the stub of the leaf was wrapped around the folded half sheet that followed. It is reproduced again here properly facing the 1674 title page.



THE 1674 TITLE PAGE

The model, as it were, for the 1674 title page was the 1669¹ title page, the layout of the page being almost identical, except for the insertion of the three lines 8, 9, and 10, in the third ruled box. The first three lines on the page are in the same size type as in 1669¹, and lines 4 and 5 are similar, except in smaller type and the word TWELVE substituted for the word 'TEN' in line 5, and the period after BOOKS, first introduced in 1668, is present. Line 6 is in smaller type than in 1669¹; but the author's name is set in the same type. The next, the third ruled box on the page, is new, as is all the letterpress material which it contains. The word LONDON, is set in smaller italic capitals; but the printer's signature is set in the same type, providing his address and omitting the name of any bookseller. The numerals of the date are set in the second line of the printer's signature, not below it as in 1669¹. The outside double rules, horizontal and vertical, also follow the 1669¹ pattern.

The verso [Av] of the 1674 title page is blank.

I N
Paradisum Amissam
Summi Poetæ
J OHANNIS M ILTONI.

Qui legis Amissam Paradisum, grandia magni
 Carmina Miltoni, quid nisi cuncta legis ?
 Res cunctas, & cunctarum primordia rerum,
 Et fata, & fines continet iste liber.
 Intima panduntur magni penetralia mundi,
 Scribitur & toto quicquid in Orbe later.
 Terræque, tractusque maris, cœlumque profundum
 Sulphureumque Erebi, flammivomnique specus.
 Quæque colunt terras, Portumque & Tartara caca,
 Quæque colunt summi lucida regna Poli.
 Et quodcumque ullis conclusum est finibus usquam,
 Et sine fine Chaos, & sine fine Deus :
 Et sine fine magis, si quid magis est sine fine,
 In Christo erga homines conciliatus amor.
 Has qui speraret quis crederet esse futurum ?
 Et tamen hæc hodie terra Britannia legit.
 O quantos in bella Duces ! quæ proculit arma !
 Quæ canit, & quanta prælia dira tuba.
 Cœlestes acies ! atque in certamine Cœlum !
 Et quæ Cœlestes pugna deceret agros !
 Quantus in ætheriis tollit se Lucifer armis !
 Atque ipso graditur vix Michæle minor !
 Quantis, & quam funestis concurritur iris
 Dum ferus hic stellas protegit, ille rapit !
 Dum vulsus Montes ceu Tela reciproca torquent,
 Et non mortali desuper igne pluunt :

A 2

Stat

THE LATIN COMMENDATORY POEM BY S. B.

Not in 1667. One of the earliest appreciations of the poem to be printed.

*Stat dubius cui se parti concedat Olympus,
Et metuit pugna non superesse sua.
At simus in caelis Messiae insignia fulgent,
Et currus animas, armaque digna Deo,
Horrendumque rotæ strident, & sova rotarum
Erumpunt torvis fulgura luminibus,
Et flammæ vibrant, & vera tonitrua rauco
Admisiſtis flammis inſonuere Polo:
Excidit attonitis mens omnis, & impetus omnis
Et cassis dextris irrita Tela cadunt.
Ad pœnas fugiunt, & ceu foret Orcus asylum
Infernus certant condere ſe tenebris.
Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graii
Et quos fama recens vel celebravit annus.
Hæc quicunque leget tantum cecineſſe putabit
Mæonidem ranas, Virgilium culices.*

S. B. M. D.

ON

S. B. M. D.] These initials have been taken to be those of Samuel Barrow, whose relations with Milton are very little known.

O N
Paradise Lost.

WHEN I beheld the Poet blind, yet bold,
In slender Book his vast Design unfold,
Messiah Crown'd, Gods Reconcil'd Decree,
Rebelling Angels, the Forbidden Tree,
Heav'n, Hell, Earth, Chaos, All ; the Argument
Held me a while misdoubting his Intent,
That he would ruine (for I saw him strong)
The sacred Truths to Fable and old Song
(So Sampson groap'd the Temples Posts in spight)
The World o'rewhelming to revenge his sight.

Yet as I read, soon growing less severe,
I lik'd his Project, the success did fear ;
Through that wide Field how he his way should find
O're which lame Faith leads Understanding blind ;
Lest he perplex'd the things he would explain,
And what was easie he should render vain.

Or if a Work so infinite he spann'd,
Jealous I was that some less skilful hand
(Such as disquiet always what is well,
And by ill imitating would excell)
Might hence presume the whole Creations day
To change in Scenes, and show it in a Play.

Pardon me, Mighty Poet, nor despise
My causeless, yet not impious, surmise.
But I am now convinc'd, and none will dare
Within thy Labours to pretend a share.
Thou hast not miss'd one thought that could be fit,
And all that was improper dost omit :

So

THE ENGLISH COMMENDATORY POEM BY A.[NDREW] M.[ARVELL]

Not in 1667.

So that no room is here for Writers left,
But to detect their Ignorance or Theft.

That Majesty which through thy Work doth Reign
Draws the Devout, deterring the Profane.
And things divine thou treatst of in such state
As them preserves, and thee, inviolate.
At once delight and horrour on us seise,
Thou singst with so much gravity and ease ;
And above humane flight dost soar aloft
With Plume so strong, so equal, and so soft,
The Bird nam'd from that Paradise you sing
So never flaggs, but always keeps on Wing.

Where couldst thou words of such a compass find ?
Whence furnish such a vast expence of mind ?
Just Heav'n thee like *Tiresias* to requite
Rewards with Prophesie thy loss of sight.

Well mightst thou scorn thy Readers to allure
With tinkling Rhime, of thy own sense secure ;
While the *Town-Bayes* writes all the while and spells,
And like a Pack-horse tires without his Bells :
Their Fancies like our Bushy-points appear,
The Poets tag them, we for fashion wear.
I too transported by the Mode offend,
And while I meant to Praise thee must Command.
Thy Verse created like thy Theme sublime,
In Number, Weight, and Measure, needs not Rhime.

A. M.

THE

A. M.] These initials have long been taken to be those of Andrew Marvell, who worked with Milton in connection with the Latin secretaryship. These lines were reprinted in Marvell's *Miscellaneous Poems*, London, 1681, pages 61-62.

THE
VERSE.

TH E Measure is English Heroic Verse without Rime, as that of Homer in Greek, and of Virgil in Latin; Rime being no necessary Adjunct or true Ornament of Poem or good Verse, in longer Works especially, but the Invention of a barbarous Age, to set off wretched matter and lame Meeter; grac't indeed since by the use of some famous modern Poets, carried away by Custom, but much to thir own vexation, hindrance, and constraint to express many things otherwise, and for the most part worse then else they would have express'd them. Not without cause therefore some both Italian and Spanish Poets of prime note have rejected Rime both in longer and shorter Works, as have also long since our best English Tragedies, as a thing of it self, to all judicious ears, triveal and of no true musical delight; which consists onely in apt Numbers, fit quantity of Syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one Verse into another, not in the jingling sound of like endings, a fault avoyded by the

THE PROSE ESSAY ON THE VERSE

The collation is 1674, 1668, and 1669. The italic and roman types are reversed throughout the essay from those of 1668 and 1669. ¹ THE] THe]] 9 Meeter;] Meeter;] Meetet;
19 ears,] eares,] ears, 20 triveal] triveal] trivial 21 onely] only]]
24 avoyded] avoyded] avoided

- 25 *the learned Ancients both in Poetry and all
good Oratory.* This neglect then of Rime so
little is to be taken for a defect, though it may
seem so perhaps to vulgar Readers, that it ra-
ther is to be esteem'd an example set, the first
30 *in English, of ancient liberty recover'd to He-
roic Poem from the troublsom and modern
bondage of Rimeing.*
-
-

Paradise

30 *liberty*] liberty] liberty, 31 *troublsom*] troublsom] troublesome
32 *Rimeing.*] Rimeing.] Riming.

PART II
THE TEXT OF THE SECOND EDITION

FOREWORD TO THE TEXTUAL NOTES

THE TEXTUAL NOTES RECORD 1) variants between 1674, 1667-1669, and the Manuscript of Book 1; 2) variants between 1674 and 1667-1669 including indications of states of either or both editions; 3) conditions peculiar to the various types in 1674; 4) conditions of the titles, arguments, running heads, pagination, catchwords, and any other elements found on the printed pages; 5) because Milton attempted to indicate stress or lack of it through the spelling of certain pronominal forms, notably *me\mee*, *he\hee*, *she\shee*, *thir\their*, and perhaps certain other words, a practice he had begun in the 1667 text, many notes of unsuccessful and frequently erroneous printings of these forms in 1674 have been included; 6) weak or faint letters and punctuation marks arising from worn type, foul case, faulty presswork, faulty inking, and slipping of type in the form have been irregularly noted; 7) any other aberration that seemed worth noting for any reason whatever. As in the earlier volumes of this facsimile edition, bold face type in the notes is reserved for material taken directly from the photographic reproductions immediately above the notes; in this case, of the 1674 text. As before, the square bracket following bold face type indicates the termination of material brought down from the reproduction of the text immediately above the notes. If what follows the bracket is a variant from 1674, it is from 1667. If this is in turn followed by a bracket, the material following the second bracket is from the Manuscript of Book 1 for that Book alone, or from the reprinted material of 1669. But what follows the first bracket may be an explanation only of the 1674 material. A double bracket following bold face type means that the two texts being collated agree to the second bracket. If the note ends with the double brackets, or perhaps very rarely with triple brackets, complete agreement of the two or three texts being collated is indicated. Such apparently redundant occurrences have been retained because I have used them constantly in my collations to reassure myself that other texts or notes, insisting on differences, are either wrong or cannot withstand careful scrutiny. Many of these double or triple brackets have been most useful to me, and anyone who comes on one of their occurrences may profitably investigate each particular instance in which they occur.

As in my volume 2, the term 'state' is reserved exclusively for the designation of those pages or sides of sheets showing intentional changes in type, and, though much less frequent than in the 1667 edition, the 1674 edition has enough of them to serve as a warning to the serious student of the text that the whole textual problem of the poem, involving the Manuscript of Book 1, the 1667 and the 1674 texts, is modified and if not entirely clarified, at least a little better illuminated by them.

The rule slanting to the left (\) is used between states of the same edition. In the case of 1674 states, both are set in bold face type in the notes because both states are directly available above the notes. The rule slanting to the right (/) indicates the end of a line, as is usual.

The collations and textual observations are based on the collation of the Manuscript of Book 1 with the 1667 text, the collation of the 1667 text as both collations are to be found in my volume 2, the states and second printings of 1667 and 1669 respectively, and the whole collated with the 1674 text as printed in the photographs and including its states. The text herein set forth and its notes are based on direct collation of twenty-two actual and twenty-nine photographic copies, most of the latter being on film.

Again, it must not be assumed that every variant between the second and first editions or between the second edition and the Manuscript of Book 1, that ever existed is to be found in these notes. In the first place, the very next copy examined in addition to those at hand may contain variants that are not listed here. In the second place, it is possible that other variants exist in the

copies actually examined which may have been overlooked by the collator. Thus, again the only claim made for the variants listed is that they have been found in the copies examined. Direct or magnified photographic reproductions of variants are provided whenever such variants are important enough to warrant that procedure. It is quite possible that a larger number of copies of the 1674 edition might have yielded more information about the 1674 text and its relations to that of 1667; but it is doubtful if any new types of variants would have appeared.

One interesting case of changes in the same form was discovered, namely on the recto as bound of the **B** Signature. There were five slight changes observed in the copies examined in this form. Three were small punctuation changes, pages 9 and 12 (two changes). The other two changes, pages 4, Book 1:71, and page 16, Book 1:478, were spelling changes. Thirty-three copies contained what appear to be the original or first printing states of all five cases. Eighteen copies contained what appear to be changed or second printing states of these cases; but five of these eighteen copies, copies 9, 11, 13, 20, and 39, have second printing states on pages 4, 9, and 12, but on page 16 these four copies retain state 1. That is, the changes in this form appear to have been made in two stages. The printer ran off the recto as bound of the **B** Signature for perhaps two thirds of the total number of sheets required. Then someone found five changes to be made. Four of them, or those on pages 4, 9, and 12, were made, and a few sheets were run off after the four changes were made on those three pages. Then someone discovered that the intended change on page 16 had not been made and it was then effected. The rest of the sheets were then printed with all five changes made. Thus, thirteen copies examined were found to contain all five recto changes, but five other copies, copies 9, 11, 13, 20, and 39, show only the first four changes, with the fifth, on page 16, unchanged, and there exist three slightly different printing forms of this signature.

It has again been impossible, due to wartime conditions, to deal precisely in the notes with some of the ligatures that occur in 1674. Throughout this facsimile edition, modern type reproductions of many of the old ligatures that would have necessitated special designing and cutting could not be obtained under today's conditions, and will not appear in any volume of this edition.

In general and on the basis of much actual collation, the text of the third edition, printed in 1678, is textually almost valueless, being a close and often unintelligent imitation of the text of the 1674 edition. Therefore the collation of the 1678 is very sparingly used herein.

Great difficulty has been sometimes experienced in holding legible in the photographic reproductions of the printed pages of 1674 the faint printings that frequently appear therein. Principally for this reason, a relatively large number of broken or faint types, and various other peculiarities of the type are listed in the notes. The chief value of these notations is to warn the casual observer that in most such instances there has not been a change of type. The user of these notes who owns a copy of the 1674 edition may find that the particular broken, battered, or worn type to which I have called attention may be in good condition in his copy. This may and frequently can only mean that the type, as in his copy, was originally in good condition, and then became impaired during the printing process, but was not reset. Only the cumulative observation of hundreds of such *minutiae* has made possible the determination of what type was actually reset or replaced, and what type was not.

Paradise Lost.

BOOK I.

THE ARGUMENT.

This first Book proposes, first in brief, the whole Subject, *Mans disobedience, and the loss therewpon of Paradise wherein he was plac't*: Then touches the prime cause of his fall, the Serpent, or rather 5 *Satan in the Serpent*; who revolting from God, and drawing to his side many Legions of Angels, was by the command of God driven out of Heaven with all his Crew into the great Deep. Which action past over, the Poem hastens into the midst of things, presenting Satan with his Angels now fallen into Hell, describ'd here, not in the Center (for Heaven and Earth may be suppos'd as yet not made, certainly not yet accurst) but in a place of utter 10 darkness, fitliest call'd Chaos: Here Satan with his Angels lying on the burning Lake, thunder-struck and astonisht, after a certain space recovers, as from confusion, calls up him who next in Order and Dignity lay by him; they confer of thir miserable fall. Satan awakens all his Legions, who 15 B lay

Title. *Paradise Lost.*] PARADISE/ LOST.] Paradise lost. In 1674 the first a has nicks in the upper inner part of the vertical stroke. This same type was used in titles of all books throughout 1674 except Books 8, 10, 11, and 12. The period after *Lost.* is set too low. BOOK I.] ffirst book. In 1674 the B is broken at top left but was reset only for Books 8, 10, 11, and 12. Apparently the rest of the type forming this word was unchanged for the beginnings of all other Books. The rules are composite, not solid.

THE ARGUMENT. The text of the Arguments was first printed as a unit in 1668, and reprinted in 1669, see my volume 2:177 ff. and 193 ff. In 1674, the Arguments were properly distributed to head each book throughout the poem, with the Arguments for Books 7 and 10 divided to form Arguments for Books 7 and 8, and 11 and 12 respectively. The 1674 text exhibits little revision by Milton or by anyone representing him. The 1674 italic type completely lacks swash capitals, except for the italic *Æ* thus differing from the 1668 and 1669 fonts. Only the texts of 1668 and 1674 are of any value, and even these must be taken lightly, for none of the three, 1674, 1668, or 1669, seems to be particularly Miltonic in details. Their texts are especially treacherous when comparing their spellings with spellings in the text of the poem, because the compositor's space conditions were so different for the prose from those for the verse. Collations supplied herein for the Arguments only are, in order, with 1674, 1668, and 1669. THE ARGUMENT.] This type apparently remained standing and was used at the beginnings of the twelve books. The U in ARGUMENT is not an inverted 'N' from a larger font, as it was almost throughout 1667. i This] THe]] proposes,] proposes]] brief,] brief]] 5 *Serpent;*]] *Serpent;* 8 *Deep.*]] *deep.* 11 *describ'd*]] *described* 13 *certainly*]] *certainly* 14 *darkness,*]] *darknesse,*]] *darkness,* *filiest*]] *filiest*]] *Chaos:*]] *Chaos:* 15 *Angels*]] *Angels* *Lake,*]] The k is broken in all 1674 copies examined. *thunder-struck*]] *thunderstruck*]]

2 **Paradise Lost.** Book I.

20 lay till then in the same manner confounded; They
 rise, thir Numbers, array of Battel, thir chief
 Leaders nam'd, according to the Idols known af-
 terwards in Canaan and the Countries adjoyning.
 To these Satan directs his Speech, comforts them with
 25 hope yet of regaining Heaven, but tells them lastly
 of a new World and new kind of Creature to be
 created, according to an ancient Propheſie or report
 in Heaven; for that Angels were long before
 this visible Creation, was the opinion of many
 30 ancient Fathers. To find out the truth of this
 Propheſie, and what to determin thereon he refers
 to a full Council. What his Associates thence at-
 tempt. Pandemonium the Palace of Satan rises,
 suddenly built out of the Deep: The infernal Peers
 35 there sit in Council.



F Mans First Disobedience , and
 the Fruit
 Of that Forbidden Tree, whose
 mortal tast
 Brought Death into the World,
 and all our woe,
 With losſe of Eden , till one
 greater Man

5 Restore us, and regain the blissful Seat,
 Sing Heav'ly Muse, that on the ſecret top
 Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didſt inspire
 That Shepherd, who firſt taught the chosen Seed,
 In the Beginning how the Heav'ns and Earth
 10 Rose out of Chaos : Or if Sion Hill
 Delight thee more, and Siloa's Brook that flow'd
 Faſt by the Oracle of God ; I thence
 Invoke thy aid to my adventrous Song,

That

Running Head. Loft.] The first of the diamond shaped, black letter or *Fraktur* periods used, or intended to be used, throughout the running heads of this edition, but see page 5 and elsewhere.

THE ARGUMENT. The collation is 1674, 1668, and 1669. 21 chief]] cheif 23-24 adjoyning. To]] adjoyning, to
 24 Speech,] Speech,] ſpeech, 25 hope]] hopes 26 World]] World, 27 Propheſie]] Propheſie,
 31 determin]] determine 32 Council.] Councell.] Council. 33 Palace]] Pallace Satan]] Satan
 34 Deep:]] Deep: 35 Council.] Counsel.] Council.

THE TEXT. The collation is 1674, 1667, Manuscript. 1 Mans]] mans First]] first Disobedience,]] disobeſience, and]] & Fruit]] fruit 2 Forbidden]] forbidd'n It is difficult to elide the e and account for the line metrically. Regardless of other occurrences of the elision in this word, the e is needed for syllabification, or the line is deficient. Regardless of the Manuscript, or in defiance of it, someone changed this to the proper metrical form. Tree,]] tree, mortal]] mortall 3 Death]] death World,]] world, In some 1674 copies, the comma is badly worn or broken; but in others it is clear. It may have been clear, then broken, then reset; or smashed and not reset. 4 losſe]] losſe 5 and]] & regain]] regaine bliſſful]] bliſfull Seat,]] feate, 6 Heav'ly]] heav'ly 7 Oreb,]] Oreb Sinai,]] Sinai 8 Shepherd,]] ſhepherd, Seed,]] ſeed, 9 Beginning]] begining Heav'ns]. The v is broken top right. and]] & 10 Hill]] hill 11 and]] & Siloa's] Siloa's Brook]] brooke 12 Faſt]] faſt 13 aid]] aide Song,]] ſong,

This is the first occurrence of the problem of making two states of the same page appear on facing pages. In order to do this with the two pages that follow, different states of the same recto page, this preceding recto is used as a sort of introduction to them; the first state is printed on the next page, a verso, and the second state appears as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.

Book I. *Paradise Lost.*

3

- That with no middle flight intends to soar
 15 Above th' *Aonian Mount*, while it pursues
 Things unattempted yet in Prose or Rhime.
 And chiefly Thou, O Spirit, that dost prefer
 Before all Temples th' upright heart and pure,
 Instruct me, for Thou know'st ; Thou from the first
 20 Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread
 Dove-like satst brooding on the vast Abyss
 And mad'st it pregnant : What in me is dark
 Illumin, what is low raise and support ;
 That to the hight of this great Argument
 25 I may assert Eternal Providence,
 And justifie the wayes of God to men.
 Say first, for Heav'n hides nothing from thy view
 Nor the deep Tract of Hell, say first what cause
 Mov'd our Grand Parents in that happy State,
 30 Favour'd of Heav'n so highly, to fall off
 From thir Creator, and transgresſ his Will
 For one restraint, Lords of the World besides ?
 Who first seduc'd them to that foul revolt ?
 Th' infernal Serpent ; he it was, whose guile
 35 Stir'd up with Envy and Revenge, deceiv'd
 The Mother of Mankind, what time his Pride
 Had cast him out from Heav'n, with all his Host
 Of Rebel Angels, by whose aid aspiring
 To set himself in Glory above his Peers,
 40 He trusted to have equal'd the most High,
 If he oppos'd ; and with ambitious aim
 Against the Throne and Monarchy of God
 Rais'd impious War in Heav'n and Battel proud
 With vain attempt. Him the Almighty Power
 45 Hurld headlong flaming from th' Ethereal Skie
 With hideous ruine and combustion down
 To bottomless perdition, there to dwell

B 2

In

STATE I (copies 5, 35, 54, and 57 only)

There are two slightly different 1674 states of this page, see line 17.

14 foar]] soare 15 Mount,]] Mount; it] The t is very faint in all copies examined. pursues]] perfuses
 16 unattempted]] vnattempted Profe]] profe Rhime.]] rime. In the Manuscript, the word was first written
 'rhime.' and then the 'h' was lightly struck out, but the compositor missed this. 17 chiefly]] cheifly
 Thou,\Thou] Thou] thou This is a difficult spot. Most copies of the 1674 edition examined show no punctuation
 after the word. But copies 5, 35, 54, and 57 show a clear comma here. The same construction appears again in Book
 2:810, But thou O Father, with no comma following thou although one may have been intended. In all copies examined,
 the space in Book 1:17 was set for the comma. I think that the comma is needed; but apparently it was set first and
 then broke or failed to print, or was deliberately removed. Book 1:622 O Myriads of immortal Spirits, O Powers
 scarcely helps matters, as only the apposition is common to both. Spirit,]] Spirit 18 Temples]] temples and]] &
 pure,]] pure 19 Instruct] The I is broken at top left in all copies examined. Thou . . . Thou]] thou . . . thou
 20 and]] & 21 satst]] satst The long 'f' and curled 's' of the Manuscript are not used with the precision of the
 printer's use. Abyfs]] Abyfse, See Miss Darbshire's note, her page 53, where she states that the comma is clearly
 visible in the Manuscript. 22 What]] what dark]] darke 23 Illumin,] Illumine,]] and]] &
 24 Argument]] argument 25 Eternal] th' Eternal] eternal In the Manuscript, 'th'' was first written, then struck

Book I. Paradise Lost. 3

That with no middle flight intends to soar
 15 Above th' Aonian Mount, while it pursues
 Things unattempted yet in Prose or Rhime.
 And chiefly Thou O Spirit, that dost prefer
 Before all Temples th' upright heart and pure,
 Instruct me, for Thou know'st ; Thou from the first
 20 Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread
 Dove-like satst brooding on the vast Abyss
 And mad'st it pregnant : What in me is dark
 Illumin, what is low raise and support ;
 That to the highth of this great Argument
 25 I may assert Eternal Providence,
 And justifie the wayes of God to men.

Say first, for Heav'n hides nothing from thy view
 Nor the deep Tract of Hell, say first what cause
 Mov'd our Grand Parents in that happy State,
 30 Favour'd of Heav'n so highly, to fall off
 From thir Creator, and transgress his Will
 For one restraint, Lords of the World besides ?
 Who first seduc'd them to that foul revolt ?
 Th' infernal Serpent ; he it was, whose guile
 35 Stird up with Envy and Revenge, deceiv'd
 The Mother of Mankind, what time his Pride
 Had cast him out from Heav'n, with all his Host
 Of Rebel Angels, by whose aid aspiring
 To set himself in Glory above his Peers,
 40 He trusted to have equal'd the most High,
 If he oppos'd ; and with ambitious aim
 Against the Throne and Monarchy of God
 Rais'd impious War in Heav'n and Battel proud
 With vain attempt. Him the Almighty Power
 45 Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' Ethereal Skie
 With hideous ruine and combustion down
 To bottomless perdition, there to dwell

B 2

In

STATE 2 (all other copies examined)

There are two slightly different 1674 states of this page, see line 17.

out. The deletion of 'th' is ordered in the 1668 *Errata*. 26 men.] Men. 27 Heav'n]] heav'n 28 Tract]] tract Hell,]] hell, 29 Grand]] grand Parents]] parents happy]] happie State,]] state, 30 Favour'd]] ffavour'd Heav'n]] heav'n 31 From]] ffrom thir] their] thir and]] & transgresfes]] transgreſſe Will]] will 32 For]] ffor World]] world 33 foul] fowl] fowle 34 he]] hee The Manuscript is right here, as the word seems to need a heavy stress. 35 Stird]] Stirrd Envy]] envy and]] & Revenge,]] revenge, deceiv'd]] deceav'd In 1674, the apostrophe is very faint, but space is provided in all copies, and in many it is clear. 36 Mankind,] Mankinde,] Mankind; Pride]] pride 37 Heav'n,]] heav'n; Host]] host 38 Rebel]] rebell Angels,]] Angells, aid]] aide 39 himself]] himselfe Glory]] glory Peers,]] peers, 40 He]] Hee Someone seems to have decided that the word could not be stressed, and so printed it. have]] haue equal'd]] equalld 41 and]] & aim]] aime 42 Throne]] throne and]] & God]] God, 43 Rais'd]] Raſd War]] warr Heav'n]] heav'n and]] & Battel]] battell 44 vain]] vaine Power]] power 45 headlong]] head long flaming]] flameing th' Ethereal]] th' ethereal In copy 22 of 1674, there is absolutely no visible trace of the apostrophe. Skie]] skie 46 and]] & down]] downe 47 bottomlef]] bottomles

4 Paradise Lost. Book I.

In Adamantine Chains and penal Fire,
 Who durst defie th' Omnipotent to Arms.
 50 Nine times the Space that measures Day and Night
 To mortal men, he with his horrid crew
 Lay vanquisht, rowling in the fiery Gulfe
 Confounded though immortal: But his doom
 Referv'd him to more wrath; for now the thought
 55 Both of lost happiness and lasting pain
 Torments him; round he throws his baleful eyes
 That witness'd huge affliction and dismay
 Mixt with obdurate pride and stedfast hate:
 At once as far as Angels kenn he views
 60 The dismal Situation waste and wilde,
 A Dungeon horrible, on all sides round
 As one great Furnace flam'd, yet from those flames
 No light, but rather darkness visible
 Serv'd onely to discover sights of woe,
 65 Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
 And rest can never dwell, hope never comes
 That comes to all; but torture without end
 Still urges, and a fiery Deluge, fed
 With ever-burning Sulphur unconsum'd:
 70 Such place Eternal Justice had prepar'd
 For those rebellious, here their Prison ordain'd
 In utter darkness, and thir portion set
 As far remov'd from God and light of Heav'n
 As from the Center thrice to th' utmost Pole.
 75 O how unlike the place from whence they fell!
 There the companions of his fall, o'rewhelm'd
 With Floods and Whirlwinds of tempestuous fire,
 He soon discerns, and weltring by his side
 One next himself in power, and next in crime,
 80 Long after known in Palestine, and nam'd
 Beelzebub. To whom th' Arch-Enemy,

And

STATE I (found in thirty-three of the copies examined)

There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 71.

48 Adamantine]] adamantine Chains]] chaines and]] & penal]] penall Fire,]] fire 49 th' Omnipotent]
 The apostrophe is very small in all 1674 copies examined. Arms.]] armes. 50 Space]] space Day]] day
 and]] & Night]] night 51 mortal]] mortall he]] hee The Manuscript seems to be right. crew]] crue
 52 Gulfe]] gulfe 53 immortal:]] immortall: doom]] doome 54 Referv'd]] Refervd wrath;]] wrauth;
 55 and]] & pain]] paine 56 him;]] him, baleful]] balefull 57 and]] & 58 Mixt]] Mix'd and]] &
 59 far]] farr Angels]] Angells kenn]] kenne, 60 Situation]] scituation waste]] wast and]] &
 wilde,]] wilde 61 Dungeon]] dungeon 62 Furnace]] furnace 63 darkness]] darknes 64 onely] only]]
 65 doleful]] dolefull 66 dwell,]] dwell; hope]] Hope Second never] Ther sits down in the line. 67 all;]] all:
 without]] with out 68 and]] & Deluge,]] deluge 69 Sulphur]] sulphur unconsum'd:]] vnconsum'd:

4 **Paradise Lost.** Book I.

- In Adamantine Chains and penal Fire,
Who durst defie th' Omnipotent to Arms.
 50 Nine times the Space that measures Day and Night
To mortal men, he with his horrid crew
Lay vanquisht, rowling in the fiery Gulfe
Confounded though immortal : But his doom
Reserv'd him to more wrath ; for now the thought
 55 Both of lost happiness and lasting pain
Torments him ; round he throws his baleful eyes
That witness'd huge affliction and dismay
Mixt with obdurate pride and stedfast hate :
At once as far as Angels kenn he views
 60 The dismal Situation waste and wilde,
A Dungeon horrible, on all sides round
As one great Furnace flam'd, yet from those flames
No light, but rather darkness visible
Serv'd onely to discover sights of woe,
 65 Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell, hope never comes
That comes to all ; but torture without end
Still urges, and a fiery Deluge, fed
With ever-burning Sulphur unconsum'd :
 70 Such place Eternal Justice had prepar'd
For those rebellious, here thir Prison ordain'd
In utter darknes, and thir portion set
As far remov'd from God and light of Heav'n
As from the Center thrice to th' utmost Pole.
 75 O how unlike the place from whence they fell !
There the companions of his fall, o'rewhelm'd
With Floods and Whirlwinds of tempestuous fire,
He soon discerns, and weltring by his side
One next himself in power, and next in crime,
 80 Long after known in Palestine, and nam'd
Beelzebub. To whom th' Arch-Enemy,

And

STATE 2 (found in eighteen of the copies examined)

There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 71.

70 *Eternal]] eternall* 71 *For]] ffor those]] thefe* This is a difficult reading. The third letter in the Manuscript is made in the regular fashion for the running and connected 'e' but there is probably no more reason for calling it an 'e' here than an 'o' although to Miss Darbshire the 'e' was certain. *their\thir] their]* *thir* All copies of 1674 examined have corrected the same word in the next line. See also page 15, 1674, line 433. *Prifon]] prifón* See my note, volume 2:39. I still think that the scribe meant to strike out the o but wrote only his apostrophe.

72 *darknes,]] darknes, and]] & thir] their] thir* 73 *far]] farr and]] &* 74 *Pole.]] pole.*

75 *unlike]] vnlike* 76 *fall,]] fall o'rewhelm'd]] orewhelmd* 77 *Floods]] floods and]] &*

Whirlwinds]] whirlwinds 78 *He]] Hee* Seems to be unstressed. *soon]] foone discerns,]] discernes, and]] &*
79 *himself]] himselfe power,]] power and]] &* 81 *Beelzebub.] Béelzebub.]* *Enemy,]] enemy*

Because both the facing prints immediately before this page were versos as bound, this page is used only in order to have the next page, a recto as bound, print herein as a recto.

Book I. *Paradise Lost.* 5

And thence in Heav'n call'd Satan, with bold words
Breaking the horrid silence thus began.

- If thou beest he; But O how fall'n! how chang'd
85 From him, who in the happy Realms of Light
Cloth'd with transcendent brightness didst out-shine
Myriads though bright: If he whom mutual league,
United thoughts and counsels, equal hope
And hazard in the Glorious Enterprize,
90 Joynd with me once, now misery hath joynd
In equal ruin: into what Pit thou seest
From what hight fall'n, so much the stronger prov'd
He with his Thunder: and till then who knew
The force of those dire Arms? yet not for those,
95 Nor what the Potent Victor in his rage
Can else inflict, do I repent or change,
Though chang'd in outward lustre; that fixt mind
And high disdain, from fence of injur'd merit,
That with the mightiest rais'd me to contend,
100 And to the fierce contention brought along
Innumerable force of Spirits arm'd
That durst dislike his reign, and me preferring,
His utmost power with adverse power oppos'd
In dubious Battel on the Plains of Heav'n,
105 And shook his throne. What though the field be lost?
All is not lost; the unconquerable Will,
And study of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to submit or yield:
And what is else not to be overcome?
110 That Glory never shall his wrath or might
Extort from me. To bow and sue for grace
With suppliant knee, and deifie his power,
Who from the terror of this Arm so late
Doubted his Empire, that were low indeed,
115 That were an ignominy and shaine beneath

B 3

This

Running Head. *Lost.*] The period seems to be round, not diamond shaped. 84 he;]] he, O]] oh fall'n!]] fal'n
85 From]] ffrom him,]] him happy]] happie Realms]] realmes Light]] light
86 brightnes]] brightnesse out-shine]] outshine] out shine 87 If]] if he]] hee The word seems to be
stressed. mutual]] mutuall 88 United]] United and]] & counsells,]] counsells, equal]] equall hope]] hope,]]
89 Glorious]] glorious Enterprize,]] enterprize 91 equal]] equall Pit]] pit 92 fall'n,] fal'n,] fall'n,
prov'd]] prov'd 93 Hell]] Hee It is difficult to stress this word if the line is read, as it should be, with the
line above it. I think Milton changed his mind here, or someone else properly prevented the stressed form from being
printed. Thunder:]] thunder: 94 Arms?]] arm's? those,] those]] 95 Potent]] potent Victor]] victor
96 inflict,] inflict]] In 1674 the c is broken in all copies examined. do]] doe 97 outward]] out ward
lustre;]] lustre, But the Manuscript is corrected from a semicolon, and again Milton may have changed his mind.
98 disdain,]] disdaine, 101 Innumerable] The first n is faint in all 1674 copies examined. 102 reign,]] raign,
and]] & me]] mee Certainly here the word is stressed and should follow the Manuscript. 104 Battel]] battell
Plains]] plain's 106 unconquerable]] vnconquerable Will,]] will, 107 immortal]] immortall
108 submit]] submitt 110 Glory]] glory wrath]] wrauth 111 and]] & 112 and]] & power,] power]]
113 terror]] terror Arm]] arm 114 Doubted] The t is faint. Empire,]] empire; The upper dot of the semi-
colon in the Manuscript seems to be added; but certainly a stronger stop than a comma seems necessary. Apparently
the compositor thought a comma enough. 115 That] The h is very faint in most 1674 copies examined. were]
The r is faint in most 1674 copies examined.

This is another occurrence of the problem of making two states of the same page appear on facing pages. In order to do this with the two pages that follow, different states of the same recto page, this preceding recto is used for a sort of introduction to them; the first state is printed on the next page, a verso, and the second state appears as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.

Book I. Paradise Lost.

7

- 150 By right of Warr, what e're his busineſſ be
 Here in the heart of Hell to work in Fire,
 Or do his Errands in the gloomy Deep ;
 What can it then avail though yet we feel
 Strength undiminifht, or eternal being
 155 To undergo eternal punishment ?
 Whereto with ſpeedy words th' Arch-fiend reply'd.
 Fall'n Cherube, to be weak is miſerable
 Doing or Suffering : but of this be ſure,
 To do ought good never will be our task,
 160 But ever to do ill our ſole delight,
 As being the contrary to his high will
 Whom we refiſt. If then his Providence
 Out of our evil ſeek to bring forth good,
 Our labour muſt be to pervert that end,
 165 And out of good ſtill to find means of evil ;
 Which oft times may ſucceed, ſo as perhaps
 Shall grieve him, if I fail not, and diſturb
 His inmoſt counſels from thir destind aim.
 But ſee the angry Victor hath recall'd
 170 His Miñters of vengeance and purſuit
 Back to the Gates of Heav'n : the Sulphurous Hail
 Shot after us in ſtorm, oreblown hath laid
 The fiery Surge, that from the Precipice
 Of Heav'n receiv'd us falling, and the Thunder,
 175 Wing'd with red Lightning and impetuous rage,
 Perhaps hath ſpent his shafts, and ceaſes now
 To bellow through the vast and boundleſs Deep.
 Let us not ſlip th' occaſion, whether ſcorn,
 Or ſatiate fury yield it from our Foe.
 180 Seest thou yon dreary Plain, forlorn and wilde,
 The ſeat of deſolation, voyd of light,
 Save what the glimmering of theſe livid flames
 Casts pale and dreadful ? Thither let us tend

B 4

From

STATE I (copies 5, 35, 54, and 57 only)

There are two ſlightly diſferent 1674 ſtaſtes of this page, ſee line 171.

Running Head. Loft.] The round period again. 150 Warr,]] warr, busineſſ]] buif'neſſe be]] bee The word is almost certainly ſtressed. 151 Fire,]] fire, 152 do]] doe Errands]] errands Deep;]] deep, 153 avail]] availe we]] wee It ſeems diſſicult to ſtress this word. feel]] feele 154 undiminifht,]] vndiminiſh'd, eternal]] eternall 155 undergo]] vndergoe eternal]] eternall 156 Whereto]] Where to 157 be]] bee The word ſeems to be unſtressed. 158 Suffering:]] ſuffering: ſure,]] ſure 159 ought]] aught be]] bee This caſe ſeems to be indetermiſate. Certainly the word is ſtressed, but not heavily. 160 do]] doe 162 we]] wee Again, though ſtressed, the emphasis ſeems relatively light. Providence]] proviſe 163 evill]] evill 165 evil;]] evill, 166 oft times]] oft times 167 fail]] faile 168 counſels]] counſells thir] their] thir 169 angry]] Angry

Book I. *Paradise Lost.* 7

- 150 By right of Warr, what e're his business be
 Here in the heart of Hell to work in Fire,
 Or do his Errands in the gloomy Deep ;
 What can it then avail though yet we feel
 Strength undiminisht, or eternal being
 155 To undergo eternal punishment ?
 Whereto with speedy words th'Arch-fiend reply'd.
 Fall'n Cherube, to be weak is miserable
 Doing or Suffering : but of this be sure,
 To do ought good never will be our task,
 160 But ever to do ill our sole delight,
 As being the contrary to his high will
 Whom we resist. If then his Providence
 Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,
 Our labour must be to pervert that end,
 165 And out of good still to find means of evil ;
 Which oft times may succeed, so as perhaps
 Shall grieve him, if I fail not, and disturb
 His inmost counsels from thir destind aim.
 But see the angry Victor hath recall'd
 170 His Ministers of vengeance and pursuit
 Back to the Gates of Heav'n : the Sulphurous Hail
 Shot after us in storm, oreblown hath laid
 The fiery Surge, that from the Precipice
 Of Heav'n receiv'd us falling, and the Thunder,
 175 Wing'd with red Lightning and impetuous rage,
 Perhaps hath spent his shafts, and ceases now
 To bellow through the vast and boundless Deep.
 Let us not slip th' occasion, whether scorn,
 Or satiate fury yield it from our Foe.
 180 Seest thou yon dreary Plain, forlorn and wilde,
 The seat of desolation, voyd of light,
 Save what the glimmering of these livid flames
 Casts pale and dreadful? Thither let us tend

B 4

From

STATE 2 (all other copies examined)

There are two slightly different 1674 states of this page, see line 171.

170 Minifters]] ministers pursuit]] perfuit 171 Gates]] gates Heav'n:]] Heaven: There are two slightly different states of this word in 1674. In the first, corresponding to and with Thou, on page 3, line 17 (Book 1), the apostrophe is down between the v and n whereas in the second state, corresponding to and with Thou in line 17, the apostrophe has been raised to its proper position. Second the] The] the Sulphurous]] sulphurous Hail]] haile
 172 oreblown]] oreblow'n laid]] layd 173 The]] This Precipice]] precipice 174 Heav'n]] heaven
 Thunder,]] thunder 175 Wing'd]] Wingd Lightning]] lightning rage,]] rage 177 boundleſſ]] boundleſſe
 Deep.]] deep. 178 occasion,]] occasion: 179 yield]] yeild Foe.]] foe. 180 Plain,]] plain,
 183 dreadful?]] dreadfull!

8 Paradise Lost. Book I.

- From off the tossing of these fiery waves,
 185 There rest, if any rest can harbour there,
 And reassembling our afflicted Powers,
 Consult how we may henceforth most offend
 Our Enemy, our own loss how repair,
 How overcome this dire Calamity,
 190 What reinforcement we may gain from Hope,
 If not what resolution from despare.
 Thus Satan talking to his neerest Mate
 With Head up-lift above the wave, and Eyes
 That sparkling blaz'd, his other Parts besides
 195 Prone on the Flood, extended long and large
 Lay floating many a rood, in bulk as huge
 As whom the Fables name of monstrous size,
 Titanian, or Earth-born, that warr'd on Jove,
 Briareos or Typhon, whom the Den
 200 By ancient Tarsus held, or that Sea-beast
 Leviathan, which God of all his works
 Created hugest that swim th' Ocean stream:
 Him haply slumbring on the Norway foam
 The Pilot of some small night-founder'd Skiff,
 205 Deeming some Island, oft, as Sea-men tell,
 With fixed Anchor in his scaly rind
 Moors by his side under the Lee, while Night
 Invests the Sea, and wifled Morn delayes:
 So stretcht out huge in length the Arch-fiend lay
 210 Chain'd on the burning Lake, nor ever thence
 Had ris'n or heav'd his head, but that the will
 And high permission of all-ruling Heaven
 Left him at large to his own dark designs,
 That with reiterated crimes he might
 215 Heap on himself damnation, while he sought
 Evil to others, and enrag'd might see
 How all his malice serv'd but to bring forth

Infinite

Running Head. Lost.] The round period again. 186 Powers,]] powers, 187 we]] wee Another indeterminate case, because while the word is certainly stressed, with equal certainty the stress should not be heavy. 188 henceforth]] hence forth 189 Calamity,]] calamity, 190 we]] wee About the same as in line 187. 191 despare.]] despair. 192 Head]] head up-lift]] uplift Eyes]] eys 193 Parts]] parts 194 Flood,]] flood, 195 Fables]] fables 196 Earth]] earth 197 Briareos] Briarios] Briaréos See my note on Manuscript reading, volume 2:51. 198 works]] works, 199 stream:]] stream; 200 foam]] foame 201 works]] works, 202 stream:]] stream; 203 foam]] foame 204 founder'd]] founder'd Skiff,]] skiff, 205 Island,]] Iland, 206 Seamen tell,]] tell 207 Scaly rind]] rinde 208 Moores Night]] night 209 So] The o is very faint in a few of the copies examined. 210 Sea,]] sea, 211 morn delayes:]] delayes. 212 The o is very faint in a few of the copies examined. 213 Lake,]] lake, 214 risen]] risen 215 ruling]] ruleing Heaven]] heaven 216 hee]] hee 217 himself]] himselfe hee]] hee As in line 214, it seems as though the printer was right and the Manuscript wrong. 218 Evil]] Evill

This is another occurrence of the problem of making two states of the same page appear on facing pages. In order to do this with the two pages that follow, different states of the same recto page, this preceding recto is used for a sort of introduction to them; the first state is printed on the next page, a verso, and the second state appears as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.

Book I. Paradise Lost.

9

- Infinite goodness, grace and mercy shewn
On Man by him seduc't, but on himself
- 220 Treble confusion, wrath and vengeance pour'd.
Forthwith upright he rears from off the Pool
His mighty Stature; on each hand the flames
Drivn backward slope thir pointing spires, and rowld
In billows, leave i'th' midst a horrid Vale.
- 225 Then with expanded wings he stears his flight
Aloft, incumbent on the dusky Air
That felt unusual weight, till on dry Land
He lights, if it were Land that ever burn'd
With solid, as the Lake with liquid fire;
- 230 And such appear'd in hue, as when the force
Of subterranean wind transports a Hill
Torn from *Pelorus*, or the shatter'd side
Of thundring *Aetna*, whose combustible
And fewel'd entrals thence conceiving Fire,
- 235 Sublim'd with Mineral fury, aid the Winds,
And leave a singed bottom all involv'd
With stench and smoak: Such resting found the sole
Of unblest feet. Him followed his next Mate,
Both glorying to have scap't the *Stygian* flood
- 240 As Gods, and by thir own recover'd strength,
Not by the sufferance of supernal Power.
Is this the Region, this the Soil, the Clime,
Said then the lost Arch-Angel, this the seat
That we must change for Heav'n, this mournful gloom
- 245 For that celestial light? Be it so, since he
Who now is Sovran can dispose and bid
What shall be right: fardest from him is best
Whom reason hath equald, force hath made supream
Above his equals. Farewel happy Fields
- 250 Where Joy for ever dwells: Hail horours, hail
Infernall world, and thou profoundest Hell

Receive

STATE I (found in thirty-three of the copies examined)

There are two slightly different 1674 states of this page, see line 238.

218 goodnes,]] goodnesse, mercy]] mercy, 219 Man]] man himself]] himselfe 220 wrath]] wrauth
221 Forthwith]] fforth with Pool]] poole 222 Stature;]] stature; 223 Drivn]] Driv'n thir] their] thir
Unstressed. pointing]] poynting and] &]] 224 i' th' midst]] ith' midst Vale.]] vale. 225 steares]] steares
226 Air]] air 227 unusual]] vnusuall weight,]] waight, Land]] land 228 Land]] land 229 fire;]] fire,
230 hue,]] hew; 231 Hill]] hill 233 *Aetna*,]] Etna, 234 fewel'd]] fewell'd entrals]] entrails The 'i' was in-
serted in the Manuscript, see my volume 2:53. Fire,]] fire 235 Mineral]] minerall Winds,]] winds,
237 smoak:]] smoake. 238 unblest]] vnblest feet.]] feet: Him]] him followed]] followd The Manuscript's
elision is metrically correct. Mate,]] Mate There was a change made in the comma here, in 1674. The first state
of this page shows a very worn or battered comma, whereas the second state shows a sharp one. 239 have]] haue

Book I. *Paradise Lost.* 9

Infinite goodness, grace and mercy shewn
On Man by him seduc't, but on himself
220 Treble confusion, wrath and vengeance pour'd.
Forthwith upright he rears from off the Pool
His mighty Stature; on each hand the flames
Drivn backward slope thir pointing spires, and rowld
In billows, leave i'th' midst a horrid Vale.
225 Then with expanded wings he steers his flight
Aloft, incumbent on the dusky Air
That felt unusual weight, till on dry Land
He lights, if it were Land that ever burn'd
With solid, as the Lake with liquid fire;
230 And such appear'd in hue, as when the force
Of subterranean wind transports a Hill
Torn from *Pelorus*, or the shatter'd side
Of thundring *Etna*, whose combustible
And fewel'd entrals thence conceiving Fire,
235 Sublim'd with Mineral fury, aid the Winds,
And leave a singed bottom all involv'd
With stench and smoak: Such resting found the sole
Of unbleit feet. Him followed his next Mate,
Both glorying to have scap't the *Stygian* flood
240 As Gods, and by thir own recover'd strength,
Not by the sufferance of supernal Power.
Is this the Region, this the Soil, the Clime,
Said then the lost Arch-Angel, this the seat
That we must change for Heav'n, this mournful gloom
245 For that celestial light? Be it so, since he
Who now is Sovran can dispose and bid
What shall be right: fardest from him is best
Whom reason hath equald, force hath made suprem
Above his equals. Farewel happy Fields
250 Where Joy for ever dwells: Hail horrours, hail
Infernal world, and thou profoundest Hell

Receive

STATE 2 (found in eighteen of the copies examined)

There are two slightly different 1674 states of this page, see line 238.

240 Gods,]] Gods thir] their] thir The word is unstressed. 241 supernal]] supernall Power.]] power.
 242 Region,]] région, Soil,]] foile, Clime,]] clime, 243 Arch-Angel,] Arch Angel,] Archangell, 244 we]] wee
 The word must be stressed. mournful]] mournfull 245 light?] Italic question mark. he] hee] he, There appears
 to be little sense in Manuscript or 1674 readings, and certainly this word, with its three different treatments, is dis-
 concerting to all attempts to be systematic with the Manuscript, the first edition, and the second. I cannot read or
 scan the line and continue into the next one without stressing he If line 245 is scanned alone, it can be done; but it
 is senseless. 249 Farewel]] ffarewell happy]] happie Fields]] fields 250 Joy]] joy Hail]] Haile
 horrours,]] Horrours, hail]] Haile

10 Paradise Lost. Book I.

- Receive thy new Possessor : One who brings
 A mind not to be chang'd by Place or Time.
 The mind is its own place, and in it self
 Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n.
 255 What matter where, if I be still the same,
 And what I should be, all but less then he
 Whom Thunder hath made greater ? Here at least
 We shall be free ; th' Almighty hath not built
 260 Here for his envy, will not drive us hence :
 Here we may reign secure, and in my choyce
 To reign is worth ambition though in Hell :
 Better to reign in Hell, then serve in Heav'n.
 But wherefore let we then our faithful friends,
 265 Th' associates and copartners of our los's
 Lye thus astonisht on th' oblivious Pool,
 And call them not to share with us their part
 In this unhappy Mansion, or once more
 With rallied Arms to try what may be yet
 270 Regaind in Heav'n, or what more lost in Hell ?
 So *Satan* spake, and him *Beelzebub*
 Thus answer'd. Leader of these Armies bright,
 Which but th' Omnipotent none could have foyld,
 If once they hear that voyce, thir liveliest pledge
 275 Of hope in fears and dangers, heard so oft
 In worst extreams, and on the perilous edge
 Of battel when it rag'd, in all assaults
 Thir surest signal, they will soon resume
 New courage and revive, though now they lye
 280 Groveling and prostrate on yon Lake of Fire,
 As we erewhile, astounded and amaz'd,
 No wonder, fall'n such a pernicious highth.
 He scarce had ceas't when the superiour Fiend
 Was moving toward the shoar ; his ponderous shield
 285 Ethereal temper, massy, large and round,

Be-

STATE I (copies 5, 35, 54, and 57 only)

There are two slightly different 1674 states of this page, see lines 265 and 270.

252 Possessor:]] posseſſour: 253 Place]] place Time.]] time. 254 its]] Rare occurrence of this form.
 ſelf]] ſelfe 257 leſſe he] hee] he Almost certainly stressed. 258 Thunder]] thunder 259 We]] Wee
 Should the word be heavily stressed? Almighty]] Almightye 262 reign] The g is battered in all 1674 copies
 examined. Hell:]] hell: 264 we]] wee Seems unstressed. faithfull]] faithfull friends,]] freinds,

10 **Paradise Lost.** Book I.

- Receive thy new Possessor : One who brings
 A mind not to be chang'd by Place or Time.
 The mind is its own place, and in it self
 255 Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n.
 What matter where, if I be still the same,
 And what I should be, all but less then he
 Whom Thunder hath made greater ? Here at least
 We shall be free ; th' Almighty hath not built
 260 Here for his envy, will not drive us hence :
 Here we may reign secure, and in my choyce
 To reign is worth ambition though in Hell :
 Better to reign in Hell, then serve in Heav'n.
 But wherefore let we then our faithful friends,
 265 Th' associates and copartners of our loss
 Lye thus astonisht on th' oblivious Pool,
 And call them not to share with us their part
 In this unhappy Mansion, or once more
 With rallied Arms to try what may be yet
 270 Regaind in Heav'n, or what more lost in Hell ?
 So *Satan* spake, and him *Beelzebub*
 Thus answer'd. Leader of those Armies bright,
 Which but th' Omnipotent none could have foyld,
 If once they hear that voyce, thir liveliest pledge
 275 Of hope in fears and dangers, heard so oft
 In worst extreams, and on the perilous edge
 Of battel when it rag'd, in all assaults
 Thir surest signal, they will soon resume
 New courage and revive, though now they lye
 280 Groveling and prostrate on yon Lake of Fire,
 As we erewhile, astounded and amaz'd,
 No wonder, fall'n such a pernicious highth.
 He scarce had ceas't when the superiour Fiend
 Was moving toward the shoar ; his ponderous shield
 285 Ethereal temper, massy, large and round,

Ec-

STATE 2 (all other copies examined)

There are two slightly different 1674 states of this page, see lines 265 and 270.

265 Th' affociates]] Th' Affociates In state 1, the apostrophe is down between the *h* and the *a* whereas in state 2 it has been raised to its proper position. This change corresponds with that on page 3, line 17, and that on page 7, line 171. losf]] losse 266 Lye]] Ly Pool,]] poole, 267 their]] thir The word can be stressed or unstressed. 268 unhappy]] vnhappy **Manfion,]]** Manfion; 269 Arms]] arms 270 Heav'n,]] Heav'n Hell? (space work-up)] In state 1, copies 5, 35, 54, and 57 only, there is a space work-up at the end of the line. In all other copies examined, there is no space work-up here. 271 *Satan*]] Why in italic type? The name occurs four times in Book 1, lines 82, 192, 271, and 757. It is in roman type in those lines in 1667 and 1674, except line 271, where it is set in italic. In the remainder of the poem the name occurs almost seventy times, usually in italic type, but in roman type in Book 2:5; 9:75; 10:172, 184, 189, 236, 258; and 11:248. *Beelzebub*] *Bëélzébub*] Béélzébub 272 Armies]] armies 273 have]] haue foyld,]] foyl'd, 274 hear]] heare voyce,]] voice, See my volume 2:57. thir]] their]] thir Probably unstressed. 277 battel]] battell 278 Thir] Their] Thir Almost certainly unstressed. signal,]] signall, 279 lye]] ly 280 Lake]] lake Fire,]] fire, 281 ere while,]] ere while, 282 fall'n]] fal'n highth.]] highth. 283 He]] Hee Probably unstressed. Fiend]] fiend 284 shoar;]] shore;]] 285 round,]] round

Because both the facing prints immediately before this page were versos as bound, this page is used only in order to have the next page, a recto as bound, print herein as a recto.

Book I. *Paradise Lost.* 11

Behind him cast ; the broad circumference
 Hung on his shoulders like the Moon, whose Orb
 Through Optic Glafs the *Tuscan Artist* views
 At Ev'ning from the top of *Fesole*,
 290 Or in *Valdarno*, to descry new Lands,
 Rivers or Mountains in her spotty Globe.
 His Spear, to equal which the tallest Pine
 Hewn on *Norwegian hills*, to be the Mast
 Of some great Ammiral, were but a wand,
 295 He walkt with to support uneasie steps
 Over the burning Marle, not like those steps
 On Heavens Azure, and the torrid Clime
 Smote on him sore besides, vaulted with Fire ;
 Nathless he so endur'd, till on the Beach
 300 Of that inflamed Sea, he stood and call'd
 His Legions, Angel Forms, who lay intrans't
 Thick as Autumnal Leaves that strow the Brooks
 In *Vallombrosa*, where th' *Etrurian shades*
 High overarch't imbowr ; or scatterd sedge
 305 Afloat, when with fierce Winds *Orion* arm'd
 Hath vext the Red-Sea Coast, whose waves orethrew
Busiris and his *Memphian Chivalry*,
 While with perfidious hatred they pursu'd
 The Sojourners of *Goshen*, who beheld
 310 From the safe shore thir floating Carkases
 And broken Chariot Wheels, so thick besrown
 Abject and lost lay these, covering the Flood,
 Under amazement of thir hideous change.
 He call'd so loud, that all the hollow Deep
 315 Of Hell resounded. Princes, Potentates,
 Warriers, the Flowr of Heav'n, once yours, now lost,
 If such astonishment as this can sieze
 Eternal spirits ; or have ye chos'n this place
 After the toy1 of Battel to repose

Your

Running Head. *Paradise*] The P has a nick in the left-hand edge of the vertical stroke. See pages 41, 57, 73, 105, 123, 137, 187, 219, 265, 299, 331, in the running heads of which pages the same piece of type seemingly reappears.
 287 *Moon*,] moon *Orb*] orb 288 *Optic*] optick *Glafs*] glafse 289 *Ev'ning*] evening *Fesole*,] fesole,
 290 *Lands*,] lands, 291 *Mountains*] Mountaines *Globe*.] globe. 292 *Spear*,] speare, *equal*] equall
Pine] pine 293 *Mast*] mast 294 *Ammiral*,] Ammirall, 295 *with*] with, *uneasie*] vneasy
 297 *Azure*,] azure; *Clime*] clime 298 *Fire*;] fire; 299 *Nathles*] Nath lefse *he*] hee Not particularly
 stressed. *Beach*] beach 300 *Sea*,] sea, *he*] hee Seems unstressed. *call'd*] calld 301 *Legions*,] legions,
Angel] Angell Forms,] form's, 302 *Autumnal*] Autumnall *Leaves*] leaves *Brooks*] brooks
 304 *overarch't*] overarcht *imbowr*;] imbowre: 305 *Afloat*,] Afloat *Winds*] winds 306 *Red-Sea*] red-sea
Coast,] coast, 307 *Chivalry*,] Chivalrie,] chivalry 308 *pursu'd*] pursu'd 309 *Sojourners*] sojourners
 310 *thir*] their] thir Probably unstressed. *Carkases*] carcasses 311 *Chariot*] chariot
Wheels,] VVheels,] wheeles. 312 *Flood*,] flood, 313 *Under*] Vnder *amazement*] amazment
thir] their] thir Unstressed. 314 *call'd*] calld *Deep*] deeps 316 *Flowr*] flower 317 *sieze*] seise
 318 *spirits*;] spirits: *have*] haue 319 *toy1*] toyle *Battel*] battell

12 *Paradise Lost.* Book. I.

- 320 Your wearied vertue, for the ease you find
 To slumber here, as in the Vales of Heav'n?
 Or in this abject posture have ye sworn
 To adore the Conquerour? who now beholds
 Cherube and Seraph rowling in the Flood
 325 With scatter'd Arms and Ensigns, till anon
 His swift pursuers from Heav'n Gates discern
 Th' advantage, and descending tread us down
 Thus drooping, or with linked Thunderbolts
 Transfix us to the bottom of this Gulfe.
 330 Awake, arise, or be for ever fall'n.
 They heard, and were abash't, and up they sprung
 Upon the wing, as when men wont to watch
 On duty, sleeping found by whom they dread,
 Rouse and bestir themselves ere well awake.
 335 Nor did they not perceave the evil plight
 In which they were, or the fierce pains not feel;
 Yet to thir Generals Voyce they soon obeyd
 Innumerable. As when the potent Rod
 Of Amrāms Son in Egypt's evill day
 340 Wav'd round the Coast, up call'd a pitchy cloud
 Of Locusts, warping on the Eastern Wind,
 That ore the Realm of impious Pharaoh hung
 Like Night, and darken'd all the Land of Nile:
 So numberless were those bad Angels seen
 345 Hovering on wing under the Cope of Hell
 'Twixt upper, nether, and surrounding Fires;
 Till, as a signal giv'n, th' uplifted Spear
 Of thir great Sultan waving to direct
 Thir course, in even ballance down they light
 350 On the firm brimstone, and fill all the Plain;
 A multitude, like which the populous North
 Pour'd never from her frozen loyns, to pass
 Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous Sons

Came

STATE 1 (found in thirty-three of the copies examined)

There are two slightly different 1674 states of this page, see lines 321 and 347.

Running Head. Book.] The occasional, unneeded period after the word. 321 *Vales]] vales Heav'n?*] In state 1, seen in copy 5, etc., the apostrophe sits down between the letters. In state 2, or in other copies examined, the apostrophe has been raised to its proper position. 322 *have]] haue ye]] yee* Unstressed? 323 *sworne]] sworne*
 324 *Flood]] flood* In 1674, the F is either very badly worn or wrong font. 325 *Arms]] arms*
 326 *pursuers]] persuers Gates]] gates* 327 *down]] downe* 328 *Thunderbolts]] thunderbolts*
 329 *Gulfe.]] gulfe.* 330 *be]] bee* Stressed. 331 *fall'n.]] fal'n.* 332 *Upon]] Vpon wing,]] wing;* 334 *bestir]] bestirr* 335 *perceave]] perceive evil]] evill*
 337 *thir]] their]]* Seems to be unstressed. 338 *Generals]] Generalls Voyce]] voice* But first written 'voyce' then changed. 339 *obeyd]] obai'd;* The punctuation in the Manuscript may represent an unsuccessful attempt to put a

12 *Paradise Lost.* Book. I.

- 320 Your wearied vertue, for the ease you find
 To slumber here, as in the Vales of Heav'n?
 Or in this abje&t posture have ye sworn
 To adore the Conquerour? who now beholds
 Cherube and Seraph rowling in the Flood
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 Th' advantage, and descending tread us down
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 Upon the wing, as when men wont to watch
 On duty, sleeping found by whom they dread,
 Rouse and bestir themselves ere well awake.
- 335 Nor did they not perceave the evil plight
 In which they were, or the fierce pains not feel;
 Yet to thir Generals Voyce they soon obeyd
 Innumerable. As when the potent Rod
 Of *Amra.ms Son* in *Egypt's evill day*
- 340 Wav'd round the Coast, up call'd a pitchy cloud
 Of *Lecusts*, warping on the Eastern Wind,
 That ore the Realm of impious *Pharaob* hung
 Like Night, and darken'd all the Land of *Nile*:
 So numberless were those bad Angels seen
- 345 Hovering on wing under the Cope of Hell
 'Twixt upper, nether, and surrounding Fires;
 Till, as a signal giv'n, th' uplifted Spear
 Of thir great Sultan waving to direct
 Thir course, in even ballance down they light
- 350 On the firm brimstone, and fill all the Plain;
 A multitude, like which the populous North
 Pour'd never from her frozen loyns, to pafs
Rhem or the *Danaw*, when her barbarous Sons

Came

STATE 2 (found in eighteen of the copies examined)

There are two slightly different 1674 states of this page, see lines 321 and 347.

heavy stop at the end of this line, and then make the next line read 'Innumerable as when the potent Rod' but the two printed editions seem to have forced, or recorded, a better solution. 338 Rod]] rod 339 Son]] son
Egypt's]] Egipcts 340 Coast,]] coast, 341 Wind,]] wind, 342 Realm]] realm 343 Night,]] night,
 darken'd]] dark'n'd The Manuscript contains one too many apostrophes, as the line is metrically deficient if 'dark'n'd'
 is taken as one syllable. *Nile:*] *Nile:*] Nile. 344 Angels]] Angells 345 under]] vnder Cope]] cope
 346 'Twixt]] T'wixt nether,]] nether Fires;]] fires; 347 giv'n,]] given, th' uplifted] In state 1, the apostrophe sits down between the letters. In state 2, it has been raised to its proper position. Spear]] speare
 348 thir] their] thir Seems to be stressed. 349 Thir]] Their Confused with the preceding line; this word can hardly be stressed. 350 Plain;]] plain; 352 pafs]] pafse 353 Sons]] sons

Because both the facing prints immediately before this page were versos as bound, this page is used only in order to have the next page, a recto as bound, print herein as a recto.

Book I. *Paradise Lost.*

13

- 355
- Came like a Deluge on the South, and spread
Beneath *Gibralter* to the *Lybian* sands.
Forthwith from every Squadron and each Band
The Heads and Leaders thither hast where stood
Thir great Commander; Godlike shapes and forms
Excelling human, Princely Dignities,
- 360
- And Powers that earst in Heaven sat on Thrones;
Though of thir Names in heav'nly Records now
Be no memorial blotted out and ras'd
By thir Rebellion, from the Books of Life.
Nor had they yet among the Sons of *Eve*
- 365
- Got them new Names, till wandering ore the Earth,
Through Gods high sufferance for the tryal of man,
By falsities and lyes the greatest part
Of Mankind they corrupted to forsake
God thir Creator, and th' invisible
- 370
- Glory of him that made them, to transform
Oft to the Image of a Brute, adorn'd
With gay Religions full of Pomp and Gold,
And Devils to adore for Deities:
- 375
- Then were they known to men by various Names,
And various Idols through the Heathen World.
Say, Muse, thir Names then known, who first, who last,
Rous'd from the slumber, on that fiery Couch,
At thir great Emperors call, as next in worth
- 380
- Came singly where he stood on the bare strand,
While the promiscuous croud stood yet aloof?
The chief were those who from the Pit of Hell
Roaming to seek thir prey on earth, durst fix
Thir Seats long after next the Seat of God,
- 385
- Thir Altars by his Altar, Gods ador'd
Among the Nations round, and durst abide
Jehovah thundring out of *Sion*, thron'd
Between the Cherubim; yea, often plac'd

Within

Perhaps no other page in the 1674 edition offered more opportunity for different printing states than this one. But no differences were found on this page in any of the copies examined.

354 *Deluge*] deluge

355 *Gibralter*] *Gibraltar*] Probably a foul case or other typographical error.

356 *Forthwith*] Forth with

Squadron]] squadron

Band]] band

357 *Heads*]] heads

358 *Thir*] Their] Thir Unstressed.

shapes]] shap's and]] & forms]] forms

359 *Dignities*,]] dignities,

360 *Powers*]] powers

Thrones;]] thrones;

361 *thir*] their] thir Names]] names

heav'nly]] heavenly

Records]] records

362 *memorial*] memorial,] memorial,

Some punctuation seems to be called for here.

ras'd]] raz'd,

363 *Rebellion*,]] rebellion,

Books]] books

Life.]] life.

364 *Sons*]] fons

365 *Names*,]] names,

Earth,]] earth,

366 *sufferance*]] sufferance,

tryal]] trial

369 *thir*] their] thir Unstressed.

Creator,]] Creator

370 *him*] him,] him

them,]] them

371 *Image*]] image

Brute,]] brute,

372 *Religions*]] religions

Pomp]] pomp

Gold,]] gold

373 *Devils*]] devells

Deities:]] déités:

374 *Names*,]] names,

375 *Idols*]] dolls

Heathen]] heathen

World.]] world.

376 *thir*] their] thir Unstressed.

Names]] names

377 *the*]]]

But almost certainly should be 'thir' see Darbshire, page [70].

slumber,]] slumber

Couch,]] couch,

378 *Emperors*]] Emperours

379 *he*]] hee

Almost certainly unstressed.

380 *aloof?*]] aloof.

381 *chief*]] cheife

Pit]] pit

382 *thir*] their] thir Unstressed.

383 *Thir*] Their]] Unstressed.

Seats]] seats,

after]] after,

Seat]] seat

384 *Thir*] Their] Thir Unstressed.

Altars]] altars

Altar,]] altar,

Gods]] gods

385 *Nations*]] nations

387 *yea*,]] yea

14 Paradise Lost. Book I.

Within his Sanctuary it self thir Shrines,
 Abominations ; and with cursed things
 390 His holy Rites, and solemn Feasts profan'd,
 And with thir darknes durst affront his light.
 First *Moloch*, horrid King besmear'd with blood
 Of human sacrifice, and parents tears,
 Though for the noyse of Drums and Timbrels loud
 395 Thir childrens cries unheard, that past through fire
 To his grim Idol. Him the *Ammonite*
 Worshipt in *Rabba* and her watry Plain,
 In *Argob* and in *Basan*, to the stream
 Of utmost *Arnon*. Nor content with such
 400 Audacious neighbourhood, the wifest heart
 Of *Solomon* he led by fraud to build
 His Temple right against the Temple of God
 On that opprobrious Hill, and made his Grove
 The pleasant Vally of *Hinnom*, *Tophet* thence
 405 And black *Gehenna* call'd, the Type of Hell.
 Next *Chemos*, th' obscene dread of *Moabs* Sons,
 From *Aroar* to *Nebo*, and the wild
 Of Southmost *Abarim*; in *Hesebon*
 And *Horonaim*, Seons Realm, beyond
 410 The flowry Dale of *Sibma* clad with Vines,
 And *Eleale* to th' *Aphaltick* Pool.
Peor his other Name, when he entic'd
Israel in *Sittim* on thir march from *Nile*
 To do him wanton rites, which cost them woe.
 415 Yet thence his lustful Orgies he enlarg'd
 Even to that Hill of scandal, by the Grove
 Of *Moloch* homicide, lust hard by hate;
 Till good *Josiah* drove them thence to Hell.
 With these came they, who from the bordring flood
 420 Of old *Euphrates* to the Brook that parts
Egypt from *Syrian* ground, had general Names

Of

388 Within]] With in Sanctuary]] sanctuary self]] selfe thir] their] thir Unstressed. Shrines,]] shrines,
 390 Rites,]] rites, Feasts]] feasts 391 thir] their] thir Seems to be unstressed. darknes]] darknesse
 392 King]] king 393 tears,]] teares, 394 Though]] Though, noyse]] noise Drums]] drums and]] &
 Timbrels]] timbrells 395 Thir] Their] Thir Unstressed. unheard,]] vnheard, 397 Plain,]] plain,
 398 Argob]] Argob, 400 neighbourhood,]] neighborhood, 401 he]] hee Unstressed.
 402 Temple . . . Temple]] temple . . . temple 403 Hill,]] hill, Grove]] grove 404 Vally]] vally
 thence]] thence, 405 Type]] type 406 Sons,]] sons, 407 Aroar] Aroer]] Probably foul case in 1674.
 409 Horonaim,] Heronaim,] Horonaim The 1668 Errata call for Horonaim, Realm,]] realm, 410 Dale]] dale
 Vines,]] vines, 411 Pool,]] poole. 412 Name,]] name, 413 thir] their] thir Unstressed.
 415 lustful]] lustfull 416 Hill]] hill scandal,]] scandal, Grove]] grove 418 Hell,]] hell.
 419 bordring]] bord'ring 420 Brook]] brook 421 Egypt]] Egipt general]] generall Names]] names

Book I. Paradise Lost. 15

Of *Baalm* and *Astarto*, those male,
 These Feminine. For Spirits when they please
 Can either Sex assume, or both ; so soft
 425 And uncompounded is thir Essence pure,
 Not ti'd or manacl'd with joyn't or limb,
 Nor founded on the brittle strength of bones,
 Like cumbrous flesh ; but in what shape they choose
 Dilated or condens't, bright or obscure,
 430 Can execute thir aerie purposes,
 And works of love or enmity fulfill.
 For those the Race of *Israel* oft forsook
 Thir living strength, and unfrequented left
 His righteous Altar, bowing lowly down
 435 To bestial Gods; for which thir heads as low
 Bow'd down in Battel, sunk before the Spear
 Of despicable foes. With these in troop
 Came *Astoreth*, whom the *Phœnicians* call'd
Astarte, Queen of Heav'n, with crescent Horns;
 440 To whose bright Image nightly by the Moon
Sidonian Virgins paid thir Vows and Songs,
 In *Sion* also not unsung, where stood
 Her Temple on th' offensive Mountain, built
 By that uxorious King, whose heart though large,
 445 Beguil'd by fair Idolatresses, fell
 To Idols foul. *Thammuz* came next behind,
 Whose annual wound in *Lebanon* allur'd
 The Syrian Damsels to lament his fate
 In amorous dittyes all a Summers day,
 450 While smooth *Adonis* from his native Rock
 Ran purple to the Sea, suppos'd with blood
 Of *Thammuz* yearly wounded : the Love-tale
 Infected *Sions* daughters with like heat,
 Whose wanton passions in the sacred Porch
 455 *Ezekiel* saw, when by the Vision led

His

422 male,] male 423 Feminine,] feminine. For] ffor Spirits]] spirits 424 Sex]] sex
 425 uncompounded]] vncompounded thir] their] thir Unstressed. Essence]] efsence pure,]] pure;
 426 joyn't]] joint The Manuscript was first 'joyn't' and then was changed. Someone made an effort to make a number of such words read with an 'i' rather than with 'y' limb,]] lim, 428 choose]] chuse
 429 condens't,]] condens'd, 430 thir] their] thir Unstressed. 432 those]] these Again indeterminate, as in line
 71. Race]] race 433 Thir] Their] Thir Unstressed. unfrequented]] vnfrequented 435 bestial]] bestiall
 Gods;]] gods; thir] their] thir Unstressed. 436 Battel,]] battell, Spear]] spear 439 Astarte,]] Astarte
 Queen]] queen Heav'n,]] heav'n, Horns;]] horns; 440 Image]] image Moon]] moon
 441 Virgins]] virgins paid]] pay'd thir] their] thir Unstressed. Vows]] vowes Songs,]] songs,
 442 unsfung,]] vnsfung, 443 Temple]] temple Mountain,]] mountain, 444 King,]] king 446 Idols]] Idolls
 foul.]] soule. 447 annual]] annuall 448 Damfells]] damfells 449 Summers]] summers 450 Rock]] rock
 451 Sea,]] sea, 452 Love]] love 453 heat,]] heate, 454 Porch]] porch 455 Ezekiel]] Ezechiel
 Vifion]] vifion

16 Paradise Lost. Book I.

His eye survey'd the dark Idolatries
 Of alienated *Judah*. Next came one
 Who mourn'd in earnest, when the Captive Ark
 Maim'd his brute Image, head and hands lopt off
 460 In his own Temple, on the grunsel edge,
 Where he fell flat, and sham'd his Worshipers :
Dagon his Name, Sea Monster, upward Man
 And downward Fish : yet had his Temple high
 Rear'd in *Azotus*, dreaded through the Coast
 465 Of *Palestine*, in *Gath* and *Ascalon*
 And *Accaron* and *Gaza*'s frontier bounds.
 Him follow'd *Rimmon*, whose delightful Seat
 Was fair *Damascus*, on the fertil Banks
 Of *Abbana* and *Pharpar*, lucid streams.
 470 He also against the house of God was bold :
 A Leper once he lost and gain'd a King,
Abaz his sottish Conquerour, whom he drew
 Gods Altar to disparage and displace
 For one of *Syrian* mode, whereon to burn
 475 His odious offrings, and adore the Gods
 Whom he had vanquisht. After these appear'd
 A crew who under Names of old Renown,
Osiris, *Isis*, *Orus* and their Train
 With monstrous shapes and forceries abus'd
 480 Fanatic *Egypt* and her Priests, to seek
 Thir wandring Gods disguis'd in brutish forms
 Rather then human. Nor did *Israel* scape
 Th' infection when thir borrow'd Gold compos'd
 The Calf in *Oreb*: and the Rebel King
 485 Doubl'd that sin in *Bethel* and in *Dan*,
 Lik'ning his Maker to the Grazed Ox,
Jehovah, who in one Night when he pass'd
 From *Egypt* marching, equal'd with one stroke
 Both her first born and all her bleating Gods.

Belial

STATE I (found in thirty-eight of the copies examined)

There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 478.

458 Captive]] captive 459 Image,]] image, 460 Temple,]] temple, grunsel]] grundfell
 461 Worshipers:]] worshippers: 462 Name,]] name, Sea]] sea Monster,]] monster, Man]] man
 463 Fish:]] fish: Temple]] temple 464 Azotus,]] Azotus; Coast]] coast 465 Ascalon] Ascalon,] Ascalon
 467 follow'd] The second o is faint in all 1674 copies examined. delightful]] delightfull Seat]] seat
 468 fertil]] fertile Banks]] banks 469 stremes.]] stremes. 471 Leper]] leper King,]] King
 472 Conquerour,]] conquerour, 473 Altar]] altar 474 whereon]] where on 477 under]] vnder

16 **Paradise Lost.** Book I.

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 Of alienated *Judah*. Next came one
 Who mourn'd in earnest, when the Captive Ark
 Maim'd his brute Image, head and hands lopt off
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Abaz his sottish Conquerour, whom he drew
 Gods Altar to disparage and displace
 For one of *Syrian* mode, whereon to burn
 475 His odious offrings, and adore the Gods
 Whom he had vanquisht. After these appear'd
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 Thir wandring Gods disguis'd in brutifl forms
 Rather then human. Nor did *Israel* scape
 Th' infection when thir borrow'd Gold compos'd
 The Calf in *Oreb* : and the Rebel King
 485 Doubl'd that sin in *Bethel* and in *Dan*,
 Lik'ning his Maker to the Grazed Ox,
Jehovah, who in one Night when he pas'd
 From *Egypt* marching, equal'd with one stroke
 Both her first born and all her bleating Gods.

Belial.

STATE 2 (found in thirteen of the copies examined)

There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 478.

Names]] names Renown,]] renown, 478 their\thir] their]] The first state of 1674 reads their which was changed on this recto of the sheet as bound at a later time than the change in the same word on page 4. The word is unstressed, and both 1667 and Manuscript are wrong. Train]] train 480 *Egypt*]] Egift Priests,]] preists, 483 thir] their] thir Unstressed. Gold]] gold 484 Calf]] Calfe Rebel]] rebell 486 Lik'ning]] Likning Grazed]] grazed Ox,]] ox, 487 Jehovah,]] Jehovah Night]] night pas'd]] past 488 *Egypt*]] Egift equal'd]] equall'd

Book I. *Paradise Lost.* 17

- 490 *Belial* came last, then whom a Spirit more lewd
 Fell not from Heaven, or more gross to love
 Vice for it self : To him no Temple stood
 Or Altar smoak'd ; yet who more oft then hee
 In Temples and at Altars, when the Priest
 495 Turns Atheist, as did *Ely's* Sons, who fill'd
 With lust and violence the house of God.
 In Courts and Palaces he also Reigns
 And in luxurious Cities, where the noyse
 Of riot ascends above their loftiest Towrs,
 500 And injury and outrage : And when Night
 Darkens the Streets, then wander forth the Sons
 Of *Belial*, flown with insolence and wine.
 Witness the Streets of *Sodom*, and that night
 In *Gibeak*, when the hospitable door
 505 Expos'd a Matron to avoid worse rape.
 These were the prime in order and in might ;
 The rest were long to tell, though far renown'd,
 Th' *Ionian* Gods, of *Javans* Issue held
 Gods, yet confess later then Heav'n and Earth
 510 Thir boasted Parents ; *Titan* Heav'n's first born
 With his enormous brood, and birthright seis'd
 By younger *Saturn*, he from mightier *Jove*
 His own and *Rhea*'s Son like measure found ;
 So *Jove* usurping reign'd : these first in *Creet*
 515 And *Ida* known, thence on the Snowy top
 Of cold *Olympus* rul'd the middle Air
 Thir highest Heav'n ; or on the *Delphian* Cliff,
 Or in *Dodona*, and through all the bounds
 Of *Doric* Land ; or who with *Saturn* old
 520 Fled over *Adria* to th' *Hesperian* Fields,
 And ore the *Celtic* roam'd the utmost Isles.
 All these and more came flocking ; but with looks
 Down cast and damp, yet such wherein appear'd

C

Obscure

STATE 1 (copies 12, 17, 40, 44, 49, 56, and 58)

There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 499.

490 *Spirit]]* spirit 491 *Heaven,]]* heaven, *grofs]]* grofse 492 *self:]]* selfe: *To]]* to *Temple]]* temple
 493 *Altar]]* altar *smoak'd;]]* smoak'd: 494 *Temples]]* temples *Priest]]* Preift 495 *Ely's]* *Ely's*
Sons,]] sons, 497 *Reigns]]* reigns 498 *Cities,]]* cities, *noyse]]* noise 499 *above]]* aboue
 their\thir]] thir]] The first state, found in copies 12, 17, 40, 44, 49, 56, and 58, reads their and the second, found in
 all other 1674 copies examined, reads thir the change being made for the same reason that the change was made in
 the same word on page 4, line 71. State 2 of 1674 was a change from a typographical error, seemingly, as neither
 1667 nor Manuscript had erred here. The word is unstressed. *Towrs,]]* towers, 500 *And]]* and *Night]]* night

Book I. *Paradise Lost.* 17

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 Fell not from Heaven, or more gross to love
 Vice for it self : To him no Temple stood
 Or Altar smoak'd ; yet who more oft then hee
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 His own and *Rhea's Son* like measure found ;
 So *Jove* usurping reign'd : these first in *Creet*
 515 And *Ida* known, thence on the Snowy top
 Of cold *Olympus* rul'd the middle Air
 Thir highest Heav'n ; or on the *Delphian Cliff*,
 Or in *Dodona*, and through all the bounds
 Of *Doric Land* ; or who with *Saturn* old
 520 Fled over *Adria* to th' *Hesperian Fields*,
 And ore the *Celtic* roam'd the utmost Isles.
 All these and more came flocking ; but with looks
 Down cast and damp, yet such wherein appear'd

C Obscure

STATE 2 (all other copies examined)

There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 499.

501 Streets,]] streets Sons]] sonns 503 Witnes]] Witnesse Streets]] streets 504 door] Dores] doors But
 the text has been changed here, see the following cut from 1667, Book 1:504-506, and 1674 agrees with *Judges* 19.

In *Gibeah*, when hospitable Dores
 Yielded thir Matrons to prevent worse rape.
 These were the prime in order and in might ;

507 renown'd,]] renown'd 508 Issue]] issue 509 Heav'n]] heav'n Earth]] earth 510 Parents;]] parents;
Heav'n's]] heav'n's 512 he]] hee The word seems to need a heavy stress. 513 *Rhea's*] *Rhea's Son*]] sonne
 514 reign'd:] reign'd: 515 Snowy]] snowy 516 Air]] air 517 Heav'n;]] heav'n; Cliff,]] cliff
 519 Land,]] land; 520 Fled]] fled Fields,]] fields, 521 Iles,]] Iles.

18 *Paradise Lost.* Book I.

Obscure some glimpses of joy, to have found thir chief
 Not in despair, to have found themselves not lost
 In loss it self; which on his count'nce cast
 Like doubtful hue: but he his wonted pride
 Soon recollecting, with high words, that bore
 Semblance of worth, not substance, gently rais'd
 Thir fainting courage, and dispel'd thir fears.
 Then strait commands that at the warlike sound
 Of Trumpets loud and Clarions be uprear'd
 His mighty Standard; that proud honour claim'd
Azazel as his right, a Cherube tall:
 Who forthwith from the glittering Staff unfurld
 Th' Imperial Ensign, which full high advanc't
 Shon like a Meteor streaming to the Wind
 With Gemms and Golden lustre rich imblaz'd,
 Seraphic arms and Trophies: all the while
 Sonorous mettal blowing Martial sounds:
 At which the universal Host upsent
 A shout that tore Hells Concave, and beyond
 Frighted the Reign of *Chaos* and old Night.
 All in a moment through the gloom were seen
 Ten thousand Banners rise into the Air
 With Orient Colours waving: with them rose
 A Forrest huge of Spears: and thronging Helms
 Appear'd, and ferried Shields in thick array
 Of depth immeasurable: Anon they move
 In perfect *Phalanx* to the *Dorian* mood
 Of Flutes and soft Recorders; such as rais'd
 To hight of noblest temper Hero's old
 Arming to Battel, and in stead of rage
 Deliberate valour breath'd, firm and unmov'd
 With dread of death to flight or foul retreat,
 Nor wanting power to mitigate and swage
 With solemn touches, troubl'd thoughts, and chase
 Anguish

524 some] fome] fome glimpses]] glimpse have]] haue chief]] cheife 525 despair,]] defpaire, have]] haue themselves]] them felvses 526 self;]] selfe; 527 doubtful]] doubtfull hue:]] hew: he]]] So spelled in Manuscript, 1667, and 1674, though it seems to be as heavily stressed as any pronoun in the entire poem, and 'hee' should certainly have been written and printed. It is an excellent case for reference in several instances in which all three texts are wrong for no apparent reason. 529 worth,] worth]] 530 Thir] Their]] Unstressed. fainting] fainted]] courage,]] courage dispel'd]] dispell'd thir] their] thir fears.]] feares. 532 Trumpets]] trumpets Clarions]] clarions uprear'd]] uprear'd 533 Standard;]] ftandard; 534 Cherube]] Cherub 535 Staff]] staff unfurld]] vnfurl'd 536 Imperial]] imperial Ensign,]] ensign, 537 Wind]] wind 538 Gemms]] gemms and]] & Golden]] golden imblaz'd,]] emblaz'd, 539 Trophies:]] trophies: 540 mettal]] mettle Martial]] Martiall sounds:]] sounds:]] sounds. 541 univerfall]] vniverfall Host]] host 542 Hells]] hells Concave,]] concave, 543 Reign]] reign 545 Banners]] banners Air]] air 546 Orient]] orient Colours]] colours waving:]] waving: 547 Forrest]] forrest Spears:]] speares: Helms]] helms 548 Shields]] fheilds 549 Anon]] anon 550 perfect]] perfet 551 Flutes]] flutes Recorders;]] recorders; 552 hight] highth]] 553 Battel,]] battell, 554 unmov'd]] vnmov'd 555 retreat,]] retreat;

Book I. *Paradise Lost.* 19

Anguish and doubt and fear and sorrow and pain
 From mortal or immortal minds. Thus they
 560 Breathing united force with fixed thought
 Mov'd on in silence to soft Pipes that charm'd
 Thir painful steps o're the burnt soyle ; and now
 Advanc't in view, they stand, a horrid Front
 Of dreadful length and dazzling Arms, in guise
 565 Of Warriers old with order'd Spear and Shield,
 Awaiting what command thir mighty Chief
 Had to impose : He through the armed Files
 Darts his experienc't eye, and soon traverse
 The whole Battalion views, thir order due,
 570 Thir visages and stature as of Gods,
 Thir number last he summs. And now his heart
 Distends with pride, and hardning in his strength
 Glories : For never since created man,
 Met such imbodyed force, as nam'd with these
 575 Could merit more then that small infantry
 Warr'd on by Cranes : though all the Giant brood
 Of Phlegra with th' Heroic Race were joyn'd
 That fought at Theb's and Ilium, on each side
 Mixt with auxiliar Gods ; and what resounds
 580 In Fable or Romance of Uthers Son
 Begirt with British and Armoric Knights ;
 And all who since, Baptiz'd or Infidel
 Jousted in Aspramont or Montalban,
 Damasco, or Marocco, or Trebisond,
 585 Or whom Biserta sent from Afric shore
 When Charlemain with all his Peerage fell
 By Fontarabbia. Thus far these beyond
 Compare of mortal prowess, yet observ'd
 Thir dread commander : he above the rest
 590 In shape and gesture proudly eminent
 Stood like a Towr ; his form had yet not lost

C 2

All

558 fear]] feare pain] The right-hand element of the n is broken off in a few of the 1674 copies examined.
 559 mortal]] mortall immortal]] immortall 560 united]] vnited 561 Pipes]] pipes 562 painful]] painfull
 563 view,] view]] Front]] front 564 dreadful]] dreadfull Arms,]] arms, 565 Warriers]] warriors
 Spear]] spear Shield,]] shield, 566 Awaiting]] A-waiting Chief]] Chiefe 567 He]] hee Heavily stressed.
 Files]] files 568 experienc't]] experienc'd traverse]] travers 569 Battalion]] battalion
 views,] views;views,] views; 1674 follows the second state here of 1667, not the first state from the Manuscript.
 573 For]] for man,]] man 576 Giant]] giant 577 Race]] race 580 Fable]] fable Uthers]] Vthers
 Son]] fonne 581 British]] Brittish Knights;]] knights; 582 Baptiz'd]] baptiz'd Infidel]] infidell
 586 Peerage]] peerage 587 Fontarabbia.]] ffontarabbia. far]] farr 588 mortal]] mortall 589 dread]] dred
 commander:]] Commander:]] he]] hee Heavily stressed. 591 Towr;]] towre; form]] forme

20 Paradise Lost. Book I.

All her Original brightness, nor appear'd
 Less then Arch Angel ruind, and th' excess
 Of Glory obscur'd: As when the Sun new ris'n
 595 Looks through the Horizontal misty Air
 Shorn of his Beams, or from behind the Moon
 In dim Eclips disastrous twilight sheds
 On half the Nations, and with fear of change
 Perplexes Monarchs. Dark'n'd so, yet shon
 600 Above them all th' Arch Angel: but his face
 Deep scars of Thunder had intrencht, and care
 Sat on his faded cheek, but under Browes
 Of dauntless courage, and considerate Pride
 Waiting revenge: cruel his eye, but cast
 605 Signs of remorse and passion to behold
 The fellows of his crime, the followers rather
 (Far other once beheld in bliss) condemn'd
 For ever now to have thir lot in pain,
 Millions of Spirits for his fault amer'd
 610 Of Heav'n, and from Eternal Splendors flung
 For his revolt, yet faithfull how they stood,
 Thir Glory witherd. As when Heavens Fire
 Hath scath'd the Forrest Oaks, or Mountain Pines,
 With singed top thir stately growth though bare
 615 Stands on the blasted Heath. He now prepar'd
 To speak; wherat thir doubl'd Ranks they bend
 From wing to wing, and half enclose him round
 With all his Peers: attention held them mute.
 Thrice he assayd, and thrice in spight of scorn,
 620 Tears such as Angels weep, burst forth: at last
 Words interwove with sighs found out thir way.
 O Myriads of immortal Spirits, O Powers
 Matchless, but with th' Almighty, and that strife
 Was not inglorious, though th' event was dire,
 625 As this place testifies, and this dire change

Hateful

592 Original]] original brightness,]] brightness; 593 Lesse Angel]] angel ruind,]] ruin'd
 594 Glory]] glory Sun]] sun 595 Horizontal]] horizontal Air]] air 596 Beams,]] beames; Moon]] moon
 597 dim]] dimme Eclips]] eclipe 598 Nations,]] nations, 600 Above]] Aboue Angel:] Angel:] angel:
 601 scars]] scarrs Thunder]] thunder intrencht,]] intrench't, 602 cheek,]] cheeke, under]] vnder
 Browes]] browes 603 courage,]] valour, Pride]] pride 604 cruel]] cruell 605 Signs]] Signes
 607 (Far]] (Farr 608 have]] haue thir] their] thir Unstressed. 609 Spirits]] spirits amer'd]] amer'd
 610 Eternal]] eternal Splendors]] splendois 611 faithfull]] faithfull, 612 Glory]] glory Fire]] fire
 613 Forrest]] forrest Oaks,]] oakes Mountain]] mountain Pines,]] pines, 614 thir] their] thir Unstressed.
 615 Heath.] heath. 616 whereat]] where-at thir] their] thir Unstressed. Ranks]] ranks
 617 wing to wing,] Wing to Wing,] wing to wing, half]] halfe enclose]] inclose 618 Peers:] Peers:] peers:
 619 assayd,]] assay'd, spight] spight 620 Angels]] angels weep,]] weepe, forth:] forth:
 621 thir] their] thir Unstressed. 622 immortall]] immortall Spirits,]] spirits, O]] o Powers]] powers

This is another occurrence of the problem of making two states of the same page appear on facing pages. In order to do this with the two pages that follow, different states of the same recto page, this preceding recto is used for a sort of introduction to them; the first state is printed on the next page, a verso, and the second state appears as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.

Book I. *Paradise Lost.* 21

Hateful to utter : but what power of mind
 Foreseeing or presaging, from the Depth
 Of knowledge past or present, could have fear'd,
 How such united force of Gods, how such
 630 As stood like these, could ever know repulse ?
 For who can yet beleeve, though after loss,
 That all these puissant Legions, whose exile
 Hath emptied Heav'n, shall fail to re-ascend
 Self-rais'd, and reposess thir native seat ?
 635 For mee be witness all the Host of Heav'n,
 If counsels different, or danger shun'd
 By me, have lost our hopes. But he who reigns
 Monarch in Heav'n, till then as one secure
 Sat on his Throne, upheld by old repute,
 640 Consent or custome, and his Regal State
 Put forth at full, but still his strength conceal'd,
 Which tempted our attempt, and wrought our fall.
 Henceforth his might we know, and know our own
 So as not either to provoke, or dread
 645 New warr, provok't ; our better part remains
 To work in close design, by fraud or guile
 What force effected not : that he no less
 At length from us may find, who overcomes
 By force, hath overcome but half his foe.
 650 Space may produce new VVorlds ; whereof so rise
 There went a fame in Heav'n that he ere long
 Intended to create, and therein plant
 A generation, whom his choice regard
 Should favour equal to the Sons of Heaven :
 655 Thither, if but to pry, shall be perhaps
 Our first eruption, thither or elsewhere :
 For this Infernal Pit shall never hold
 Cælestial Spirits in Bondage, nor th' Abyss
 Long under darkness cover. But these thoughts

C 3

Full

STATE 1 (copies 12, 17, 40, 44, 49, 56, and 58)
 There are two 1674 states of this page, see lines 637 and 638.

626 Hateful]] Hateful power]] powre 628 have]] haue fear'd,]] fear'd 629 united]] vnited
 630 these,]] these 631 beleeve,]] beleive losf,]] losfse 632 Legions,]] legions, 633 Hath] Did Milton dictate
 'Half'? Heav'n,]] heav'n, fail] faile]] re-ascend]] reascend 634 Self]] Selfe repossefse
 thir] their] thir Unstressed. seat?] seat.] seate The punctuation in the Manuscript is indeterminable because the
 paper is torn away, but the correct reading here is the question mark. 635 mee] me,]] Stressed.
 witneſſe]] witneſſe Host]] hoft Heav'n,]] heav'n, 636 counſels]] counſells ſhun'd]] ſhunn'd
 637 me,\mee,] me,]] Heavily stressed, and changed in many 1674 copies, resulting in two states, the first state
 agreeing with 1667 and Manuscript, and the second changed to the stressed form. have]] haue he] Another case

Book I. *Paradise Lost.* 21

- Hateful to utter : but what power of mind
 Foreseeing or presaging, from the Depth
 Of knowledge past or present, could have fear'd,
 How such united force of Gods, how such
 630 As stood like these, could ever know repulse ?
 For who can yet beleeve, though after loss,
 That all these puissant Legions, whose exile
 Hath emptied Heav'n, shall fail to re-ascend
 Self-rais'd, and reposess thir native seat ?
 635 For mee be witness all the Host of Heav'n,
 If counsels different, or danger shun'd
 By mee, have lost our hopes. But he who reigns
 Monarch in Heav'n, till then as one secure
 Sat on his Throne, upheld by old repute,
 640 Consent or custome, and his Regal State
 Put forth at full, but still his strength conceal'd,
 Which tempted our attempt, and wrought our fall.
 Henceforth his might we know, and know our own
 So as not either to provoke, or dread
 645 New warr, provok't ; our better part remains
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 What force effected not : that he no less
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 There went a fame in Heav'n that he ere long
 Intended to create, and therein plant
 A generation, whom his choice regard
 Should favour equal to the Sons of Heaven :
 655 Thither, if but to pry, shall be perhaps
 Our first eruption, thither or elsewhere :
 For this Infernal Pit shall never hold
 Cælestial Spirits in Bondage, nor th' Abyss
 Long under darkness cover. But these thoughts

C 3

Full

STATE 2 (all other copies examined)

There are two 1674 states of this page, see lines 637 and 638.

of heavy stress going unnoted. reigns]] reignes 638 in] In state 1, copies 12, 17, 40, 44, 49, 56, 58, the i is clear and in sound condition. In state 2, all other copies examined, the i is battered, perhaps from the movement of the type for the change in the line above. Heav'n,]] heav'n, 639 Throne,]] throne, 640 custome,]] custome; Regal]] regal State]] state 643 Henceforth]] Hence forth 645 provok't;]] provok'd; remains]] remaines 646 work]] worke desighn,]] designe, 647 lefs]] lefse 650 VVorlds;] Worlds;] worlds; whereof]] where of 651 Heav'n]] Heav'n, he]] hee Stressed. 652 therein]] there-in 654 equal]] equall Sons]] sonns 655 pry,] prie,]] 656 eruption,]] eruption; elsewhere:] elsewhere:] else where: 657 Infernal]] infernal Pit]] pit 658 Cælestial]] Cœlestial Bondage,]] bondage, Abyss] Abyfse] Abylse 659 under]] vnder

22 Paradise Lost. Book I.

- 660 Full Counsel must mature : Peace is despair'd,
 For who can think Submission ? Warr then, VVarr
 Open or understood must be resolv'd.
 He spake : and to confirm his words, out-flew
 Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thighs
 665 Of mighty Cherubim ; the sudden blaze
 Far round illumin'd hell : highly they rag'd
 Against the Highest, and fierce with grasped Arms
 Clash'd on thir sounding Shields the din of war,
 Hurling defiance toward the Vault of Heav'n.
 670 There stood a Hill not farwhose griesly top
 Belch'd fire and rowling smoak ; the rest entire
 Shon with a glossie scurff, undoubted sign
 That in his womb was hid metallic Ore,
 The work of Sulphur. Thither wing'd with speed
 675 A numerous Brigad hasten'd. As when Bands
 Of Pioners with Spade and Pickax arm'd
 Forerun the Royal Camp, to trench a Field,
 Or cast a Rampart. *Mammon* led them on,
Mammon, the least erected Spirit that fell
 680 From heav'n, for ev'n in heav'n his looks and thoughts
 Were always downward bent, admiring more
 The riches of Heav'ns pavement, trod'n Gold,
 Then aught divine or holy else enjoy'd
 In vision beatific : by him first
 685 Men also, and by his suggestion taught,
 Ransack'd the Center, and with impious hands
 Rift'd the bowels of thir mother Earth
 For Treasures better hid. Soon had his crew
 Op'nd into the Hill a spacious wound
 690 And dig'd out ribs of Gold. Let none admire
 That riches grow in Hell ; that soyle may best
 Deserve the precious bane. And here let those
 VVho boast in mortal things, and wond'ring tell

Of

660 Full]] ffull Counsel]] counsell Peace]] peace despair'd,]] despair'd, 661 Submission?]] submission?
 Warr...VVarr] Warr...Warr] warr...warr 662 Open]] Op'n understood]] vnderstood
 663 spake:] spake: out-flew]] out flew 666 Far]] Farr 667 Arms] arm's]] 668 thir] their] thir Un-
 stressed. Shields] shields]] war,]] warr, 669 Vault] vault]] Heav'n.]] heav'n. 670 Hill]] hill
 farwhose] far whose] farr whose 672 scurff,]] scurf, undoubted] vndoubted sign]] signe
 673 womb]] woomb 675 Brigad]] brigad hasten'd.] See my volume 2:244-45 for punctuation in 1667.
 Bands] bands]] 676 Pioners]] pioners Spade]] spade Pickaxe] pick axe 677 Royal]] royall
 Camp,]] camp, Field,]] field, 678 Rampart,]] rampart. 679 Spirit]] spirit 680 ev'n]] even and] &] and
 681 always]] alwayes 682 Gold,] gold,\Gold,] gold, 1674 follows state 2 of 1667, not state 1 or Manuscript.
 685 taught,]] taught 686 Center,]] center, 687 bowells]] bowells 688 Treasures]] treasures
 689 Op'nd]] Op'n'd Hill]] hill 690 Gold,]] gold. 691 Hell;]] hell; 692 precious]] pretios] precious
 The 't' of 1667 may be the compositor's misreading of the 'c' of the Manuscript which looks like a small 't'
 693 mortal]] mortall wond'ring] wondring]]

Book I. Paradise Lost. 23

- 695 Of *Babel*, and the works of *Memphian Kings*
Learn how thir greatest Monuments of *Fame*,
And Strength and Art are easily out-done
By Spirits reprobate, and in an hour
VVhat in an age they with incessant toyle
And hands innumerable scarce perform.
- 700 Nigh on the Plain in many cells prepar'd,
That underneath had veins of liquid fire
Sluc'd from the Lake, a second multitude
VVith wond'rous Art found out the massie Ore,
Severing each kind, and scum'd the Bullion drofs:
- 705 A third as soon had form'd within the ground
A various mould, and from the boyling cells
By strange conveyance fill'd each hollow nook,
As in an Organ from one blast of wind
To many a row of Pipes the sound-board breaths.
- 710 Anon out of the earth a Fabrick huge
Rose like an Exhalation, with the sound
Of Dulcet Symphonies and voices sweet,
Built like a Temple, where *Pilasters* round
VVere set, and Doric pillars overlaid
- 715 VVith Golden Architrave; nor did there want
Cornice or Freeze, with bossy Sculptures grav'n,
The Roof was fretted Gold. Not *Babilon*,
Nor great *Alcairo* such magnificence
Equal'd in all thir glories, to inshrine
- 720 *Belus* or *Serapis* thir Gods, or seat
Thir Kings, when *Aegypt* with *Affryia* strove
In wealth and luxurie. Th' ascending pile
Stood fixt her stately highth, and strait the dores
Op'ning thir brazen foulds discover wide
- 725 VVithin, her ample spaces, o're the smooth
And level pavement: from the arched roof
Pendant by subtle Magic many a row

C 4

Of

694 *Babel*,] Babell, Kings,] kings, 695 Learn]] Learne Monuments]] monuments *Fame*,]] fame,
696 Strength]] strength Art]] art out-done] out done\outdone] out don It seems to me that the word should
read 'outdone' here because the change from the Manuscript to the second state of 1667 appears to be deliberate.
See my volume 2:246-47. 697 Spirits]] spirits hour]] hour 699 innumerable] Must be read as five syllables,
or the line is quantitatively deficient. 700 Plain]] plain prepar'd,]] prepar'd 702 Lake,]] lake
703 wond'rous]] wondrous] Art]] art found out] founded]] This famous crux has been greatly misunderstood.
It is clear from the Manuscript and the 1667 text that Milton wanted a preterit here. But, from the 1674 text, we can
understand that he also wanted a preposition used with the verb he was employing. I think that he meant to change
to 'founded out' or 'found'd out' and the compositor took the form 'found' as a preterit, with the 1674 result. See
Oxford English Dictionary sub v.³, 2. b. and c. Book 6:518 is also significant, the preposition being present, but pre-
ceding the verb. massie]] mafsy 704 kind,] kinde,] kind, Bullion]] bullion drofs:]] drofse:
705 within]] with-in 706 boyling]] boyleing 707 conveyance]] conveiance nook,]] nook:
709 Pipes]] pipes board]] bord breaths.] On the basis of Book 5:193, and the change called for in the 1668
Errata, there can be little doubt that the word also should be changed to 'breathes.' 710 Anon] A non] Anon
Fabrick]] fabric 711 Exhalation,]] exhalation, 712 Dulcet]] dulcet Symphonies]] symphonies
sweet,]] sweet: 713 Temple,]] temple, Pilasters]] pilasters 714 overlaid]] overlayd 715 Golden]] golden
716 Freeze,]] freeze Sculptures]] fculptures 717 Roof]] roof Gold.]] gold.
719 Equal'd] Catchword Equal'd\Equal'd] Equall'd 720 seat]] feate 721 Kings,]] kings, *Aegypt*]] Egyp
722 luxurie.]] luxury. 724 brazen]] brasen foulds]] folds 726 pavement:] pavement:
727 Magic]] magic

24 Paradise Lost. Book I.

Of Starry Lamps and blazing Cressets sed
 VVith *Naphtba* and *Asphaltus* yeilded light
 730 As from a sky. The hasty multitude
 Admiring enter'd, and the work some praise
 And some the Architect : his hand was known
 In Heav'n by many a Towred structure high,
 VVhere Scepter'd Angels held thir residence,
 735 And sat as Princes, whom the supreme King
 Exalted to such power, and gave to rule,
 Each in his Hierarchie, the Orders bright.
 Nor was his name unheard or vnador'd
 In ancient *Greece*; and in *Ausonian* land
 740 Men call'd him *Mulciber*; and how he fell
 From Heav'n, they fabl'd, thrown by angry *Jove*
 Sheer o're the Chrystal Battlements; from Morn
 To Noon he fell, from Noon to dewy Eve,
 A Summers day; and with the setting Sun
 745 Dropt from the Zenith like a falling Star,
 On *Lemnos* th' *Aegean* Ile: thus they relate,
 Erring; for he with this rebellious rout
 Fell long before; nor aught avail'd him now
 To have built in Heav'n high Towns; nor did he scape
 750 By all his Engins, but was headlong sent
 VVith his industrious crew to build in hell.
 Mean while the winged Haralds by command
 Of Sovran power, with awful Ceremony
 And Trumpets sound throughout the Host proclaim
 755 A solemn Council forthwith to be held
 At *Pandæmonium*, the high Capital
 Of Satan and his Peers: thir summons call'd
 From every Band and squared Regiment
 By place or choice the worthiest; they anon
 760 VVith hunders and with thousands trooping came
 Attended: all access was throng'd, the Gates

And

728 Lamps]] lamps blazing]] blazeing Cressets]] cressets 729 yeilded]] yielded 731 enter'd,]] entered,
 733 Heav'n]] heav'n Towred]] towred high,]] high 734 Scepter'd]] scepter'd 735 Princes,]] princes,
 737 Hierarchie,] Herarchie,] hierarchy Orders]] orders 738 unheard]] unheard vnador'd]] vnador'd
 741 Heav'n,]] heav'n, 742 Sheer]] Sheere Chrystal]] chrystall Battlements;] Battlements:] battlements:
 743 Eve,]] eeve 744 Summers]] summers Sun]] sun 745 Star,]] starr, 746 Ile:] Ile:] ile: 747 he]
 Heavily stressed. 749 have]] haue Heav'n]] heav'n Towns;]] Towers; 750 Engins,]] engins,
 headlong]] head long 753 Sovran]] sovran power,]] power awful]] awfull Ceremony]] ceremony
 754 Trumpets]] trumpets throughout]] through out Host]] host proclaim]] proclame
 755 Council]] councell forthwith]] forth with 756 Capital]] Capitall Miss Darbshire points out that the Manuscript first had 'Capitoll' then this was changed to 'Capitall' and that the word should read with an 'o' in the last syllable. *Paradise Regained*, Book 4:47 ff. and *History of Britain* (Columbia) volume 10:56:24 are both pertinent here.
 757 Peers:]] peers: 758 From every Band and] From every and Band] [Fr]om every band and The 1668 *Errata* call for this change. Regiment]] regiment 759 anon]] a non 760 hunders]] hundreds]] But the 1668 *Errata* call for hunders 761 acceſſe]] acceſſe Gates]] gates

Book I. *Paradise Lost.* 25

- And Porches wide, but chief the spacious Hall
 (Though like a cover'd field, where Champions bold
 Wont ride in arm'd, and at the Soldans chair
 765 Defi'd the best of *Panim* chivalry
 To mortal combat or carreer with Lance)
 Thick swarm'd, both on the ground and in the air,
 Brushit with the hiss of rustling wings. As Bees
 In spring time, when the Sun with *Taurus* rides,
 770 Pour forth thir populous youth about the Hive
 In clusters ; they among fresh dews and flowers
 Flie to and fro, or on the smoothed Plank,
 The suburb of thir Straw-built Cittadel ,
 New rub'd with Baum, expatiate and confer
 775 Thir State affairs. So thick the aerie crowd
 Swarm'd and were straitn'd ; till the Signal giv'n.
 Behold a wonder ! they but now who seemd
 In bigness to surpass Earths Giant Sons
 Now leſs then ſmalleſt Dwarfs, in narrow room
 780 Throng numberleſs, like that Pigmean Race
 Beyond the *Indian* Mount, or Faerie Elves,
 Whose midnight Revels, by a Forrest side
 Or Fountain ſome belated Peasant ſees,
 Or dreams he ſees, while over-head the Moon
 785 Sits Arbitrefs, and neerer to the Earth
 Wheels her pale course, they on thir mirth and dance
 Intent, with jocond Music charm his ear ;
 At once with joy and fear his heart rebounds.
 Thus incorporeal Spirits to ſmalleſt forms
 790 Reduc'd thir ſhapes immense, and were at large,
 Though without number ſtill amidſt the Hall
 Of that infernal Court. But far within
 And in thir own dimensions like themſelves
 The great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim

In

762 Porches]] porches chief]] chiefe Hall]] hall 763 field,]] feild, Champions]] champions
 765 Defi'd]] Defy'd *Panim*]] *Panim* 766 mortal]] mortall Lance)] lance) 768 hisf]] hifse Bees]] bees
 769 Sun]] sun *Taurus*] *Taurus* 770 Pour] Poure]] Hive]] hive 771 clufters;]] clusters,
 772 Plank,]] plank, 773 Straw]] straw Cittadel,]] cittadell, 774 Baum,] Baume,] baume, confer]] conferr
 775 State]] state 776 Signal]] signall giv'n.] giv'n,]] The 1674 punctuation looks like a period, but it may be
 a foul case smashed comma, although it is not clear in any copy examined, and 1678 printed a period.
 778 Giant Sons]] giant-fons 779 leſs]] leſe Dwarfs,]] dwarfs, 780 Pigmean]] pigmean Race]] race
 781 Elves,]] Elves 782 midnight]] mid night Revels,]] revells, Forrest]] forrest 783 Fountain]] fountain,
 The comma seems to be needed here. Peafant]] peafant 784 he]] hee Unstressed. over-head] over head]]
 785 Arbitrefs,]] arbitrefs, Earth]] earth 786 course,]] courſe: and] & and 787 Music]] music
 charm]] charme ear;]] eare; 789 Spirits]] ſpirits 791 Hall]] hall 792 infernal]] infernall Court.]] court.
 far]] farr within]] with in 793 themſelves]] them ſelvſeſ

26 **Paradise Lost.** Book. I.

795 In close recess and secret conclave sat
A thousand Demy-Gods on golden seat's,
Frequent and full. After short silence then
And summons read, the great consult began.

The End of the First Book.

Paradise

Running Head. Book.] The occasional, unneeded period after the word. 795 receſſ]] receſſe 796 Gods]] gods
ſeat's,]] ſeat's Catchword. Paradise] PARA-

27

Paradise Lost.

BOOK II.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Consultation begun, Satan debates whether another Battel be to be hazarded for the recovery of Heaven: some advise it, others dissuade: A third proposal is prefer'd, mention'd before by Satan, to search the truth of that Prophecie or Tradition in Heaven concerning another world, and another kind of creature equal or not much inferiour to themselves, about this time to be created: Thir doubt who shall be sent on this difficult search: Satan thir chief undertakes alone the voyage, is honourd and applauded. The Councel thus ended, the rest betake them several wayes and to several imployments, as thir inclinations lead them, to entertain the time till Satan return. He passes on his Journey to Hell Gates, finds them shut, and who sat there to guard them, by whom at length they are op'nd, and discover to him the great Gu'f between Hell and Heaven; with what difficulty he passes through, directed by Chaos, the Power of that place, to the sight of this new World which he sought.

High

Title. *Paradise Lost.*] PARADISE/ LOST. In 1674 the first a has the nicks in the upper inner part of the vertical stroke, as elsewhere except for Books 8, 10, 11, and 12. The period after Lost. is set too low. The rules as usual in this edition are composite, not solid.

THE ARGUMENT. The collation of the Argument only, in order, is 1674, 1668, and 1669.
 1 *The] THe] TH e* Satan]] Satan 2 *Battel]] Battle* *hazzarded]] hazzarded*
 3 *ven:] ven:] Heaven: dissuade:]] dissuade: 4 Satan,]] Satan,* 6 *world,] world]]*
 7 *equal] equal]] themselves,] themselves]] 8 created:]] created: created: shall]] should*
 9 *search:]] search: 10 dertakes]* The k is broken in all copies examined. honourd]] honoured
 11 *rest] rest]] Short st ligature in 1674 and long st ligature in 1667. 12 wayes]] ways*
and] &]] 14 Journey]] journey 16 op'nd,]] open'd, 17 Gulf]] gulf The l is faint in all
 1674 copies examined.

28 Paradise Lost. Book II.

High on a Throne of Royal State, which far
Outshon the wealth of *Ormus* and of *Ind*,
Or where the gorgeous East with richest
hand

Showrs on her Kings *Barbaric* Pearl and Gold,
5 Satan exalted sat, by merit rais'd
To that bad eminence; and from despair
Thus high uplifted beyond hope, aspires
Beyond thus high, infatiate to pursue
Vain Warr with Heav'n, and by success untaught
10 His proud imaginations thus displaid.

Powers and Dominions, Deities of Heav'n,
For since no deep within her gulf can hold
Immortal vigor, though opprest and fall'n,
I give not Heav'n for lost. From this descent
15 Celestial vertues rising, will appear
More glorious and more dread then from no fall,
And trust themselves to fear no second fate:
Mee though just right, and the fixt Laws of Heav'n
Did first create your Leader, next free choice,
20 With what besides, in Counsel or in Fight,
Hath bin achievd of merit, yet this loss
Thus farr at least recover'd, hath much more
Establisht in a safe unenvied Throne
Yielded with full consent. The happier state
25 In Heav'n, which follows dignity, might draw
Envy from each inferior; but who here
Will envy whom the highest place exposes
Formost to stand against the Thunderers aim
Your bulwark, and condemns to greatest share
30 Of endles pain? where there is then no good
For which to strive, no strife can grow up there
From Faction; for none sure will claim in Hell

Prece-

This page contains only thirty-two lines of text with line 3 a runover making thirty-three lines of print. The first line drops approximately one extra line space below the running head and the catchword appears directly below the bottom line of text. Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 4 *Barbaric*] *Barbaric\Barbaric* 1674 is from state 2 of D Signature of 1667. and] & 15 appear] appear\appear Again 1674 agrees with state 2 of 1667. 19 next] next, 22 Thus] The s is faint in all copies examined. 24 Yielded] Yeilded 28 aim] aime 32 Hell] hell

Book II. *Paradise Lost.* 29

35 Precedence, none, whose portion is so small
 Of present pain, that with ambitious mind
 Will covet more. With this advantage then
 To union, and firm Faith, and firm accord,
 More then can be in Heav'n, we now return
 To claim our just inheritance of old,
 Surer to prosper then prosperity
 40 Could have assur'd us ; and by what best way,
 Whether of open Warr or covert guile,
 We now debate ; who can advise, may speak.

He ceas'd, and next him *Moloc*, Scepter'd King
 Stood up, the strongest and the fiercest Spirit
 45 That fought in Heav'n ; now fiercer by despair :
 His trust was with th' Eternal to be deem'd
 Equal in strength, and rather then be less
 Car'd not to be at all ; with that care lost
 Went all his fear : of God, or Hell, or worse
 50 He reck'd not, and these words thereafter spake.

My sentence is for open Warr : Of Wiles,
 More unexpert, I boast not : them let those
 Contrive who need, or when they need, not now
 For while they sit contriving, shall the rest,
 55 Millions that stand in Arms, and longing wait
 The Signal to ascend, sit lingring here
 Heav'n's fugitives, and for thir dwelling place
 Accept this dark opprobrious Den of shame,
 The Prison of his Tyranny who Reigns
 60 By our delay ? no, let us rather choose
 Arm'd with Hell flames and fury all at once
 O're Heav'n's high Towrs to force resoluteless way,
 Turning our Tortures into horrid Arms
 Against the Torturer ; when to meet the noise
 65 Of his Almighty Engin he shall hear
 Infernall Thunder, and for Lightning see

Black

34 ambitious] The first i is broken at the bottom in all copies examined. 41 Whether] The W is wrong font. Warr] The W is wrong font. 42 We] The W is wrong font.

50 reck'd] reckd 51 Warr:] The W is wrong font. Wiles,] The W is wrong font.

53 now] now. As is frequently the case at the ends of these long lines, the w is battered and in no 1674 copy examined can any trace of punctuation be seen. The third (1678) and fourth (1688) editions print a colon here. The period of 1667 seems best. 58 opprobrious] The final s is faint in all copies examined. 65 he]] Stressed. 66 Infernal] First n is faint in all copies examined.

30 **Paradise Lost.** Book II.

Black fire and horror shot with equal rage
 Among his Angels; and his Throne it self
 Mixt with Tartarean Sulphur, and strange fire,
 70 His own invented Torments. But perhaps
 The way seems difficult and steep to scale
 With upright wing against a higher foe.
 Let such bethink them, if the sleepy drench
 Of that forgetful Lake benumm not still,
 75 That in our proper motion we ascend
 Up to our native seat: descent and fall
 To us is adverse. Who but felt of late
 When the fierce Foe hung on our brok'n Rear
 Insulting, and pursu'd us through the Deep,
 80 With what compulsion and laborious flight
 We sunk thus low? Th' ascent is easie then;
 Th' event is fear'd; should we again provoke
 Our stronger, some worse way his wrath may find
 To our destruction: if there be in Hell
 85 Fear to be worse destroy'd: what can be worse
 Then to dwell here, driv'n out from bliss, condemn'd
 In this abhorred deep to utter woe;
 Where pain of unextinguishable fire
 Must exercise us without hope of end
 90 The Vassals of his anger, when the Scourge
 Inexorably, and the torturing hour
 Calls us to Penance? More destroy'd then thus
 We should be quite abolishit and expire.
 What fear we then? what doubt we to incense
 95 His utmost ire? which to the hight enrag'd,
 Will either quite consume us, and reduce
 To nothing this essential, happier farr
 Then miserable to have eternal being:
 Or if our substance be indeed Divine,
 100 And cannot cease to be, we are at worst

On

69 fire,]] The comma is smeared in some 1674 copies examined. 72 With] The W is wrong font. 74 benumm] benumme 77 Who] The W is wrong font. 78 When] The W is wrong font. 80 With] The W is wrong font. compulsion] The f is broken. 81 We] The W is wrong font. 88 Where] The W is wrong font. 91 hour] houre 93 We] The W is wrong font. 94 What] The W is wrong font. 96 Will] The W is wrong font. 98 being:] The 1674 edition tends to print a great many italic colons. The cause of this may have been foul case.

Book II. *Paradise Lost.* 31

On this side nothing ; and by proof we feel
 Our power sufficient to disturb his Heav'n,
 And with perpetual inroads to Allarme,
 Though inaccessible, his fatal Throne :

105 VVhich if not Victory is yet Revenge.

He ended frowning, and his look denounc'd
 Desperate revenge, and Battel dangerous
 To less then Gods. On th' other side up rose
Belial, in act more graceful and humane ;
 110 A fairer person lost not Heav'n ; he seemd
 For dignity compos'd and high exploit :
 But all was false and hollow ; though his Tongue
 Dropt Manna, and could make the worse appear
 The better reason, to perplex and dash
 115 Maturest Counsels : for his thoughts were low ;
 To vice industrious, but to Nobler deeds
 Timorous and slothful : yet he pleas'd the ear,
 And with persuasive accent thus began.

I should be much for open VVarr, O Peers,
 120 As not behind in hate ; if what was urg'd
 Main reason to perswade immediate VVarr,
 Did not dissuade me most, and seem to cast
 Ominous conjecture on the whole success :
 VVhen he who most excels in fact of Arms,
 125 In what he counsels and in what excels
 Mistrustful, grounds his courage on despair
 And utter dissolution, as the scope
 Of all his aim, after some dire revenge.
 First, what Revenge ? the Towsrs of Heav'n are fill'd
 130 VVith Armed watch, that render all access
 Impregnable ; oft on the bordering Deep
 Encamp thir Legions, or with obscure wing
 Scout far and wide into the Realm of night,
 Scorning surprize. Or could we break our way

By

No capital 'W's' appear on this page and none is used again until page 37, the printer using VV's.
 117 ear,]] eare, 124 he]] Stressed. 134 Scorning] The c is very faint in most copies examined.

32 *Paradise Lost.* Book II.

- 135 By force, and at our heels all Hell should rise
 VVith blackest Insurrection, to confound
 Heav'ns purest Light, yet our great Enemy
 All incorruptible would on his Throne
 Sit unpolluted, and th' Ethereal mould
 140 Incapable of stain would soon expel
 Her mischief, and purge off the baser fire
 Victorious. Thus repuls'd, our final hope
 Is flat despair : we must exasperate
 Th' Almighty Victor to spend all his rage,
 145 And that must end us, that must be our cure,
 To be no more ; sad cure ; for who would loose,
 Though full of pain, this intellectual being,
 Those thoughts that wander through Eternity,
 To perish rather, swallowd up and lost
 150 In the wide womb of uncreated night,
 Devoid of sense and motion ? and who knows,
 Let this be good, whether our angry Foe
 Can give it, or will ever ? how he can
 Is doubtful ; that he never will is sure.
 155 VWill he, so wise, let loose at once his ire,
 Belike through impotence, or unaware,
 To give his Enemies thir wish, and end
 Them in his anger, whom his anger saves
 To punish endless ? wherefore cease we then ?
 160 Say they who counsel VVar, we are decreed,
 Reserv'd and destin'd to Eternal woe ;
 VVhat ever doing, what can we suffer more,
 VVhat can we suffer worse ? is this then worst,
 Thus sitting, thus consulting, thus in Arms ?
 165 VVhat when we fled amain, pursu'd and strook
 VVith Heav'ns afflicting Thunder, and besought
 The Deep to shelter us ? this Hell then seem'd
 A refuge from those wounds : or when we lay

Chain'd

136 Insurrection,] Insurrection, All 1674 copies examined read alike. 137 Enemy] Enemie
 138 All] The A is out of alignment. 143 exasperate] exasperat\exasperate 1674 is from state
 2 of 1667. 160 counsel] The n is weak. 164 Thus] The s is broken in all copies examined.

This is another occurrence of the problem of making two states of the same page appear on facing pages. In order to do this with the two pages that follow, different states of the same recto page, this preceding recto is used for a sort of introduction to them; the first state is printed on the next page, a verso, and the second state appears as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.

Book II. Paradise Lost. 33

Chain'd on the burning Lake? that sure was worse.
 170 VVhat if the breath that kindl'd those grim fires
 Awak'd should blow them into sevensfold rage
 And plunge us in the flames? or from above
 Should intermitte vengeance arm again
 His red right hand to plague us? what if all
 175 Her stores were open'd, and this Firmament
 Of Hell should spout her Cataracts of Fire,
 Impendent horrors, threatning hideous fall
 One day upon our heads; while we perhaps
 Designing or exhorting glorious warr,
 180 Caught in a fierie Tempest shall be hurl'd
 Each on his rock transfixt, the sport and prey
 Of racking whirlwinds, or for ever sunk
 Under yon boyling Ocean, wrapt in Chains;
 There to converse with everlasting groans,
 185 Unrespited, unpitied, unrepreevd,
 Ages of hopeless end; this would be worse.
 VVarr therefore, open or conceal'd, alike
 My voice dissuades; for what can force or guile
 190 VVith him, or who deceive his mind, whose eye
 Views all things at one view? he from heav'n's hight
 All these our motions vain, sees and derides;
 Not more Almighty to resist our might
 Then wise to frustrate all our plots and wiles.
 Shall we then live thus vile, the race of Heav'n
 195 Thus trAMPL'd, thus expELL'd to suffer here
 Chains and these Torments? better these then worse
 By my advice; since fate inevitable
 Subdues us, and Omnipotent Decree,
 The Victors will. To suffer, as to doe,
 200 Our strength is equal, nor the Law unjust
 That so ordains: this was at first resolv'd,
 If we were wise, against so great a foe

D Contending,

STATE 1 (copies 5, 48, and 54 only)

There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 194.

This page begins the D Signature, the recto of which as bound is perhaps the most scrambled of any signature in the 1674 edition. The recto of this sheet as bound exists in two slightly different states, the second of which exists in two different conditions. The type changes made for state 2 are of little consequence so far as the meaning of the text is concerned, and of the ten certain changes, and eight more possible changes, only one is of metrical significance.

First called to my attention by the Columbia text which reads 'hight' and note of line 190, I became suspicious, as no other copy available read other than hight until copy 15 came along. In this copy, the right-hand ends of the following longer lines have been very skillfully strengthened or restored with a pen, one or two instances being only discernible under high magnification, when the brown color in the ink used by the pen appears. The pen strokes in copy 15 are as follows: 172 above] The letters ve are penned in completely. 174 all] Part of the a and both ll's are penned in. 175 Firmament] The t is at least strengthened. 176 Fire,] The e and comma are supplied, the e in part and the comma entirely. 177 fall] The second l is penned in. 178 perhaps] The letters ps were penned in. 181 prey] The y is at least strengthened with a pen. 183 Chains,] The comma, which should be a semicolon, is entirely supplied with a pen. 190 hight] The letters hth are supplied with a pen. The work is very skillfully done, and can

Book II. *Paradise Lost.* 33

170 Chain'd on the burning Lake? that sure was worse.
 VVhat if the breath that kindl'd those grim fires
 Awak'd should blow them into sevenfold rage
 And plunge us in the flames? or from above
 Should intermitted vengeance arm again
 His red right hand to plague us? what if all,
 175 Her stores were open'd, and this Firmament
 Of Hell should spout her Cataracts of Fire,
 Impendent horrors, threatening hideous fall
 One day upon our heads; while we perhaps
 Designing or exhorting glorious warr,
 180 Caught in a fierie Tempest shall be hurl'd
 Each on his rock transfixt, the sport and prey
 Of racking whirlwinds, or for ever sunk
 Under yon boyling Ocean, wrapt in Chains;
 There to converse with everlasting groans,
 185 Unrespited, unpitied, unrepreecvd,
 Ages of hopeless end; this would be worse.
 VVarr therefore, open or conceal'd, alike
 My voice dissuades; for what can force or guile
 VVith him, or who deceive his mind, whose eye
 190 Views all things at one view? he from heav'n's highth
 All these our motions vain, sees and derides;
 Not more Almighty to resist our might
 Then wise to frustrate all our plots and wiles.
 Shall we then live thus vile, the Race of Heav'n
 195 Thus traml'd, thus expell'd to suffer here
 Chains and these Torments? better these then worse
 By my advice; since fate inevitable
 Subdues us, and Omnipotent Decree,
 The Victors will. To suffer, as to doe,
 200 Our strength is equal, nor the Law unjust
 That so ordains: this was at first resolv'd,
 If we were wise, against so great a foe

D Contending,

STATE 2 (all copies examined except 5, 48, and 54)

There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 194.

only be detected under about 120 power magnification, except in line 172 in which the letters without magnification look too large. As this edge of the page was at an outer edge of the sheet, it was most likely that the pressure between tympan and paper somehow fell off on some D sheets as they were being printed.

Copy 40, the Columbia copy, shows: 172 above] The e is affected. 174 all] The second l is almost gone. 176 Fire,] The comma is almost gone. 190 highth] The final h is gone entirely. It was unfortunate that the Columbia editor had only this one copy for collation, as almost any other copy which he might have looked at would at least have warned him that something was wrong here, and the two textual errors which he committed within fifteen lines could have been avoided. Because of the care with which the corrections in copy 15 were made, I am inclined to believe that the pen work was done in the print shop at the time of printing the book.

The two states are known to me only through three copies in state 1, namely, copies 5, 48, and 54. On this page, the change is in line 194. 172 flames?] Flames? 173 arm] Arme 175 open'd,] op'n'd, 179 warr,] Warr, 194 race\Race] race Copies 5, 48, and 54 print lower case r and all other 1674 copies print capital. 196 and] &

34 Paradise Lost. Book II.

Contending, and so doubtful what might fall.
I laugh, when those who at the Spear are bold
And vent'rous, if that fail them, shrink and fear
VVhat yet they know must follow, to endure
Exile, or ignominy, or bonds, or pain,
The sentence of thir Conquerour: This is now
Our doom; which if we can sustain and bear,
Our Supream Foe in time may much remit
His anger, and perhaps thus farr remov'd
Not mind us not offending, satisfid
VVith what is punish't; whence these raging fires
VVill slack'n, if his breath stir not thir flames.
Our purer essence then will overcome
Thir noxious vapour, or enur'd not feel,
Or chang'd at length, and to the place conform'd
In temper and in nature, will receive
Familiar the fierce heat, and void of pain;
This horror will grow milde, this darkness light,
Besides what hope the never-ending flight
Of future dayes may bring, what chance, what change
VVorth waiting, since our present lot appeers
For happy though but ill, for ill not worst,
If we procure not to our selves more woe.
Thus *Belial* with words cloath'd in reasons garb
Counsel'd ignoble ease, and peaceful sloath,
Not peace: and after him thus *Mammon* spake.
Either to disinthrone the King of Heav'n
VVe warr, if warr be best, or to regain
Our own right lost: him to unthrone we then
May hope when everlasting Fate shall yeild
To fickle Chance, and *Chaos* judge the strife:
The former vain to hope argues as vain
The latter: for what place can be for us
VVithin Heav'n's bound, unless Heav'n's Lord supream
VVe

The verso as bound of the D Signature seems not to have been disturbed in any way.
208 Conquerour:] Italic colon. 211 His] The H is broken in some copies and clear in others.
222 dayes] days 225 we]] Stressed. 231 Our] The O is faint in all copies examined.
lost:] Italic colon. 232 hope] hope,

Book II. *Paradise Lost.* 35

VVe overpower? Suppose he should relent
 And publish Grace to all, on promise n ade
 Of new Subjection; with what eyes could we
 240 Stand in his presence humble, and receive
 Strict Laws impos'd, to celebrate his Throne
 VVith warbl'd Hymns, and to his Godhead sing
 Forc't Halleluiah's; while he Lordly sits
 Our envied Sovran, and his Altar breathes
 245 Ambrosial Odours and Ambrosial Flowers,
 Our servile offerings. This must be our task
 In Heav'n this our delight; how wearisom
 Eternity so spent in worship paid
 To whom we hate. Let us not then pursue
 250 By force impossible, by leave obtain'd
 Unacceptable, though in Heav'n, our state
 Of splendid vassalage, but rather seek
 Our own good from our selves, and from our own
 Live to our selves, though in this vast recess,
 255 Free, and to none accountable, preferring
 Hard liberty before the easie yoke
 Of servile Pomp. Our greatness will appear
 Then most conspicuous, when great things of small,
 Useful of hurtful, prosperous of adverse
 260 VVe can create, and in what place so e're
 Thrive under evil, and work ease out of pain
 Through labour and indurance. This deep world
 Of darkness do we dread? How oft amidst
 Thick clouds and dark doth Heav'n's all-ruling Sire
 265 Choose to reside, his Glory unobscur'd,
 And with the Majesty of darkness round
 Covers his Throne; from whence deep thunders roar
 Must'ring thir rage, and Heav'n resembles Hell?
 As he our darkness, cannot we his Light
 270 Imitate when we please? This Desart soile

D 2

VVants

238 made] The m is badly worn in all copies examined. 239 we]] Stressed? 246 Our] The O is wrong font. 247 Heav'n] Heav'n, 257 appeer] appear 262 indurance.] endurance.
 269 he]] Stressed. darkness,] Darknes, we]] Stressed.

36 Paradise Lost. Book II.

VVants not her hidden lustre, Gemms and Gold;
 Nor want we skill or art, from whence to raise
 Magnificence; and what can Heav'n shew more?
 Our torments also may in length of time
 275 Become our Elements, these piercing Fires
 As soft as now severe, our temper chang'd
 Into their temper; which must needs remove
 The sensible of pain. All things invite
 To peaceful Counsels, and the settl'd State
 280 Of order, how in safety best we may
 Compose our present evils, with regard
 Of what we are and were, dismissing quite
 All thoughts of warr: ye have what I advise.
 He scarce had finish't, when such murmur fill'd
 285 Th' Assembly, as when hollow Rocks retain
 The sound of blustring winds, which all night long
 Had rous'd the Sea, now with hoarse cadence lull
 Sea-faring men o'rewatchr, whose Bark by chance
 Or Pinnace anchors in a craggy Bay
 290 After the Tempest: Such applause was heard
 As *Mammon* ended, and his Sentence pleas'd,
 Advising peace: for such another Field
 They dreaded worse then Hell: so much the fear
 Of Thunder and the Sword of *Michael*
 295 VVrought still within them; and no less desire
 To found this nether Empire, which might rise
 By pollicy, and long procel's of time,
 In emulation opposite to Heav'n.
 VVhich when *Beelzebub* perceiv'd, then whom,
 300 *Satan* except, none higher sat, with grave
 Aspect he rose, and in his rising seem'd
 A Pillar of State; deep on his Front engraven
 Deliberation sat and public care;
 And Princely counsel in his face yet shon,

Majestic

STATE I (copies 5, 48, and 54 only)

There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 272 and Catchword.

In the reproduction above from copy 5, line 282 through line 286, there is a smear of some kind of material blurring the letters of one or two words in each line. The smear was in no way connected with the printing, but done by a user of the book.

272 *we*] Stressed. *art,\Art,] art*, Only the three 1674 copies 5, 48, and 54 use the lower case *a* here. 277 *their*]] Stressed. 280 *Of]* In state 1, copies 5, 48, and 54 only, the battered *O* was probably also wrong font and was reset in state 2. 281 *Compose]* The *p* is badly worn in copies 5, 48, and 54, but clear enough in all others examined. 282 *were,]* where, The first edition seems the better reading; but the meaning is different. 283 *warr:] Warr:* 296 *Empire,]* Again,

36 *Paradise Lost.* Book II.

VVants not her hidden lustre, *Gemm's and Gold* ;
 Nor want we skill or Art, from whence to raise
 Magnificence ; and what can Heav'n shew more ?
 Our torments also may in length of time
 275 Become our Elements, these piercing Fires
 As soft as now severe, our temper chang'd
 Into their temper ; which must needs remove
 The sensible of pain. All things invite
 To peaceful Counsels, and the settl'd State
 280 Of order, how in safety best we may
 Compose our present evils, with regard
 Of what we are and were, dismissing quite
 All thoughts of warr : ye have what I advise.
 He scarce had finisht, when such murmur fill'd
 285 Th' Assembly, as when hollow Rocks retain
 The sound of blustring winds, which all night long
 Had rous'd the Sea, now with hoarse cadence lull
 Sea-faring men o'rewatcht, whose Bark by chance
 Or Pinnace anchors in a craggy Bay
 290 After the Tempest : Such applause was heard
 As *Mammon* ended, and his Sentence pleas'd,
 Advising peace : for such another Field
 They dreaded worse then Hell : so much the fear
 Of Thunder and the Sword of *Michael*
 295 VVrought still within them ; and no less desire
 To found this nether Empire, which might rise
 By pollicy, and long process of time,
 In emulation opposite to Heav'n.
 VVhich when *Beelzebub* perceiv'd, then whom,
 300 298 *Satan* except, none higher sat, with grave
 Aspect he rose, and in his rising seem'd
 A Pillar of State ; deep on his Front engraven
 Deliberation sat and public care ;
 And Princely counsel in his face yet shon,

Majestic

STATE 2 (all copies examined except 5, 48, and 54)
 There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 272 and Catchword.

the p is faint in state 1, and apparently has been reset in state 2. 298 oppofite] The first p is faint in state 1 and seems to have been replaced for state 2. 299 *Beelzebub*] *Bëelzebub* perceiv'd,) The faint p of state 1 appears to have been replaced for state 2. 301 Aspect] The faint p of state 1 has apparently been replaced for state 2. 302 deep] The faint p of state 1 has apparently been replaced for state 2. 303 public] publick The faint p of 1674 state 1 has apparently been replaced for state 2, and the even fainter I almost certainly has been. 304 his] The faint s of state 1 has apparently been replaced for state 2. Catchword. Majestick\ Majestic] The final k is present in copies 5, 48, and 54 only.

Book II. *Paradise Lost.* 37

- 305 Majestick though in ruin : sage he stood
 With *Atlancean* shoulders fit to bear
 The weight of mightiest Monarchies ; his look
 Drew audience and attention still as Night
 Or Summers Noon-tide air, while thus he spake.
- 310 Thrones and Imperial Powers, off-spring of heav'n
 Ethereal Virtues ; or these Titles now
 Must we renounce, and changing stile be call'd
 Princes of Hell ? for so the popular vote
 Inclines, here to continue, and build up here
- 315 A growing Empire ; doubtless ; while we dream,
 And know not that the King of Heav'n hath doom'd
 This place our dungeon, not our safe retreat
 Beyond his Potent arm, to live exempt
 From Heav'n's high jurisdiction, in new League
- 320 Banded against his Throne, but to remaine
 In strictest bondage, though thus far remov'd,
 Under th' inevitable curb, reserv'd
 His captive multitude : For he, be sure
 In height or depth, still first and last will Reign
- 325 Sole King, and of his Kingdome loose no part
 By our revolt, but over Hell extend
 His Empire, and with Iron Scepter rule
 Us here, as with his Golden thole in Heav'n,
 What sit we then projecting peace and Warr ?
- 330 VVarr hath determin'd us, and foild with los
 Irreparable ; tearms of peace yet none
 Voutsaf't or sought ; for what peace will be giv'n
 To us enslav'd, but custody severe,
 And stripes, and arbitrary punishment
- 335 Inflicted ? and what peace can we return,
 But to our power hostility and hate,
 Untam'd reluctance, and revenge though slow,
 Yet ever plotting how the Conqueror least

D 3

May

STATE I (copies 5, 48, and 54 only)

There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 305.

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 305 Majestick\ Majestic] Majestick
 310 Imperial] imperial heav'n] heav'n, The comma of the first edition must be accepted, and
 it may have been only the accident of its failing to print at the end of the longest line on the

Book II. *Paradise Lost.* 37

- 305 Majestic though in ruin : sage he stood
 With *Atlantean* shoulders fit to bear
 The weight of mightiest Monarchies ; his look
 Drew audience and attention still as Night
 Or Summers Noon-tide air, while thus he spake.
- 310 Thrones and Imperial Powers, off-spring of heav'n
 Ethereal Virtues ; or these Titles now
 Must we renounce, and changing stile be call'd
 Princes of Hell ? for so the popular vote
 Inclines, here to continue, and build up here
- 315 A growing Empire ; doubtless ; while we dream,
 And know not that the King of Heav'n hath doom'd
 This place our dungeon, not our safe retreat
 Beyond his Potent arm, to live exempt
 From Heav'n's high jurisdiction, in new League
- 320 Banded against his Throne, but to remaine
 In strictest bondage, though thus far remov'd,
 Under th' inevitable curb, reserv'd
 His captive multitude : For he, be sure
 In height or depth, still first and last will Reign
- 325 Sole King, and of his Kingdom loose no part
 By our revolt, but over Hell extend
 His Empire, and with Iron Scepter rule
 Us here, as with his Golden those in Heav'n.
 What sit we then projecting peace and Warr ?
- 330 VVarr hath determin'd us, and foild with loss
 Irreparable ; tears of peace yet none
 Voutsaf't or sought ; for what peace will be giv'n
 To us enslav'd, but custody severe,
 And stripes, and arbitrary punishment
- 335 Inflicted? and what peace can we return,
 But to our power hostility and hate,
 Untam'd reluctance, and revenge though slow,
 Yet ever plotting how the Conqueror least

D 3

May

STATE 2 (all copies examined except 5, 48, and 54)

There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 305.

page that makes the second edition seem to lack it. 323 *he,*] Stressed. *sure]* sure, The comma is needed. 324 *heighth*] *highth* 329 *peace]* *Peace* 335 *we,*] Stressed. 336 *Butto]* No space in any 1674 copy examined. 338 *Conqueror]* *Conquerour*

38 **Paradise Lost.** Book II.

May reap his conquest, and may least rejoice

340 In doing what we most in suffering feel?

Nor will occasion want, nor shall we need

With dangerous expedition to invade

Heav'n, whose high walls fear no assault or Siege,

Or ambush from the Deep. What if we find

345 Some easier enterprize? There is a place

(if ancient and prophetic fame in Heav'n

Err not) another World, the happy seat

Of some new Race call'd *Man*, about this time

To be created like to us, though less

350 In power and excellence, but favour'd more

Of him who rules above; so was his will

Pronounc'd among the Gods, and by an Oath,

That shook Heav'n's whol circumference, confirm'd.

Thither let us bend all our thoughts, to learn

355 What creatures there inhabit, of what mould,

Or substance, how endu'd, and what thir Power,

And where thir weaknes, how attempted best,

By force or suttletry: Though Heav'n be shut,

And Heav'n's high Arbitrator sit secure

360 In his own strength, this place may lye expos'd

The utmost border of his Kingdom, left

To their defence who hold it: here perhaps

Som advantagious act may be achiev'd

By sudden onset, either with Hell fire

365 To waste his whole Creation, or possess

All as our own, and drive as we were driven,

The punie habitants, or if not drive,

Seduce them to our Party, that thir God

May prove thir foe, and with repenting hand

370 Abolish his own works. This would surpass

Common revenge, and interrupt his joy

In our Confusion, and our Joy upraise

In

343 high] The g is battered in all copies examined. 346 (if] (If 348 some] som 362 their]) Stressed. 366 we]] Stressed.

Book II. *Paradise Lost.* 39

- In his disturbance ; when his darling Sons
 Hurl'd headlong to partake with us, shall curse
 375 Thir frail Original, and faded bliss,
 Faded so soon. Advise if this be worth
 Attempting, or to sit in darkness here
 Hatching vain Empires. Thus *Beelzebub*
 Pleaded his devilish Counsel, first devis'd
 380 By *Satan*, and in part propos'd : for whence,
 But from the Author of all ill could Spring
 So deep a malice, to confound the race
 Of mankind in one root, and Earth with Hell
 To mingle and involve, done all to spite
 385 The great Creatour ? But thir spite still serves
 His glory to augment. The bold design
 Pleas'd highly those infernal States, and joy
 Sparkl'd in all thir eyes ; with full assent
 They vote : whereat his speech he thus renewes.
 390 Well have ye judg'd, well ended long debate,
 Synod of Gods, and like to what ye are,
 Great things resolv'd , which from the lowest deep
 Will once more lift us up, in spight of Fate,
 Neerer our ancient Seat ; perhaps in view
 395 Of those bright confines, whence with neighbouring
 And opportune excursion we may chance (Arms
 Re-enter Heav'n ; or else in some milde Zone
 Dwell not unvisited of Heav'ns fair Light
 Secure, and at the brightning Orient beam
 400 Purge off this gloom ; the soft delicious Air,
 To heal the scarr of these corrosive Fires
 Shall breathe her balme. But first whom shall we send
 In search of this new world, whom shall we find
 Sufficient ? who shall tempt with wandring feet
 405 The dark unbottom'd infinite Abyss
 And through the palpable obscure find out

D 4

His

375 Original,] Originals, 378 *Beelzebub*] *Bēelzebub* 380 propos'd:] Italic colon. 389 vote:] Italic colon. 392 resolv'd,] resolv'd; Copies 15 and 40 show the slightest of marks above the comma, but all other 1674 copies examined show the comma only. The form of the comma is very much like the comma portion of one kind of semicolon used in the 1674 edition. But it is impossible to determine from the copies examined whether a comma or a semicolon was set here in 1674. 1678 printed unmistakable comma here. 396 we]] Stressed. 402 breathe] breath Milton succeeded in getting some of the verb's occurrences spelled with a final e as here; but elsewhere he was less successful.

40 **Paradise Lost.** Book II.

- His uncouth way, or spread his aerie flight
 Upborn with indefatigable wings
 Over the vast abrupt, ere he arrive
 410 The happy Ile; what strength, what art can then
 Suffice, or what evasion bear him safe
 Through the strict Senteries and Stations thick
 Of Angels watching round? Here he had need
 All circumspection, and we now no less
 415 Choice in our suffrage; for on whom we send,
 The weight of all and our last hope relies.
 This said, he sat; and expectation held
 His look suspence, awaiting who appeir'd
 To second, or oppose, or undertake
 420 The perilous attempt: but all sat mute,
 Pondering the danger with deep thoughts; and each
 In others count'nance read his own dismay
 Astonisht: none among the choice and prime
 Of those Heav'n-warring Champions could be found
 425 So hardie as to proffer or accept
 Alone the dreadful voyage; till at last
 Satan, whom now transcendent glory rais'd
 Above his fellows, with Monarchal pride
 Conscious of highest worth, unmov'd thus spake.
 430 O Progeny of Heav'n, Empyreal Thrones,
 With reason hath deep silence and demurr
 Seis'd us, though undismaid: long is the way
 And hard, that out of Hell leads up to light;
 Our prison strong, this huge convex of Fire,
 435 Outrageous to devour, immures us round
 Ninefold, and gates of burning Adamant
 Barr'd over us prohibit all egress.
 These past, if any pafs, the void profound
 Of unessential Night receives him next
 440 Wide gaping, and with utter loss of being

Threa-

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 414 we]] The 1668 *Errata* call for 'wee' here, but as this is the only one of those *Errata* not followed by the 1674 compositor, I am inclined to believe that Milton here changed his mind. It seems a little difficult to stress the word. 421 and] & 422 read] red 433 light;] Light; 440 Wide] The d is broken in most copies examined.

This is another occurrence of the problem of making two states of the same page appear on facing pages. In order to do this with the two pages that follow, different states of the same recto page, this preceding recto is used for a sort of introduction to them; the first state is printed on the next page, a verso, and the second state appears as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.

Book II. *Paradise Lost.* 41

- Threatens him, plung'd in that abortive gulf.
 If thence he scape into what ever world,
 Or unknown Region, what remains him less
 Then unknown dangers and as hard escape.
- 445 But I should ill become this Throne, O Peers,
 And this Imperial Sov'rancy, adorn'd
 With splendor, arm'd with power, if aught propos'd
 And judg'd of public moment, in the shape
 Of difficulty or danger could deterr
- 450 Me from attempting. Wherefore do I assume
 These Royalties, and not refuse to Reign,
 Refusing to accept as great a share
 Of hazard as of honour, due alike
 To him who Reigns, and so much to him due
- 455 Of hazard more, as he above the rest
 High honour sits? Go therfore mighty Powers,
 Terror of Heav'n, though fall'n; intend at home,
 While here shall be our home, what best may ease
 The present misery, and render Hell
- 460 More tollerable; if there be cure or charm
 To respite or deceive, or slack the pain
 Of this ill Mansion: intermit no watch
 Against a wakeful Foe, while I abroad
 Through all the Coasts of dark destruction seek
- 465 Deliverance for us all: this enterprize
 None shall partake with me. Thus saying rose
 The Monarch, and prevented all reply,
 Prudent, least from his resolution rais'd
 Others among the chief might offer now
- 470 (Certain to be refus'd) what erst they feard;
 And so refus'd might in opinion stand
 His Rivals, winning cheap the high repute
 Which he through hazard huge must earn. But they
 Dreaded not more th' adventure then his voice

For-

STATE I (copies 5, 48, and 54 only).

There are two 1674 states of this page, see lines 442 and 450.

442 what ever\whatever] what ever Only 1674 copies 5, 48, and 54 carry state I.
 449 deterr] deterre 450 Me\Mee] Me Again, the first 1674 state was found only in the three
 copies mentioned. 455 he]] Stressed. 456 Powers,] powers, 460 tollerable;] The first 'I'
 seems to be a capital I but the type is really too small in size to be certain of this.

Book II. *Paradise Lost.* 41

Threatens him, plung'd in that abortive gulf.
 If thence he scape into whatever world,
 Or unknown Region, what remains him less
 Then unknown dangers and as hard escape.
 445 But I should ill become this Throne, O Peers,
 And this Imperial Sov'rancy, adorn'd
 With splendor, arm'd with power, if aught propos'd
 And judg'd of public moment, in the shape
 Of difficulty or danger could deterr
 450 Mee from attempting. Wherefore do I assume
 These Royalties, and not refuse to Reign,
 Refusing to accept as great a share
 Of hazard as of honour, due alike
 To him who Reigns, and so much to him due
 455 Of hazard more, as he above the rest
 High honour'd sits? Go therfore mighty Powers,
 Terror of Heav'n, though fall'n; intend at home,
 While here shall be our home, what best may ease
 The present misery, and render Hell
 460 More tollerable; if there be cure or charm
 To respite or deceive, or slack the pain
 Of this ill Mansion: intermit no watch
 Against a wakeful Foe, while I abroad
 Through all the Coasts of dark destruction feek
 465 Deliverance for us all: this enterprize
 None shall partake with me. Thus saying rose
 The Monarch, and prevented all reply,
 Prudent, least from his resolution rais'd
 Others among the chief might offer now
 470 (Certain to be refus'd) what erst they feard;
 And so refus'd might in opinion stand
 His Rivals, winning cheap the high repute
 Which he through hazard huge must earn. But they
 Dreaded not more th' adventure then his voice

For-

STATE 2 (all copies examined except 5, 48, and 54)

There are two 1674 states of this page, see lines 442 and 450.

464 Coasts] coasts 466 me.]] Stressed. 472 Rivals,] rivals, 472 through 474 In all but the three copies of 1674 state 1, the misalignment of the type at the ends of these three lines is quite pronounced. In the three copies in 1674 state 1, the misalignment is less marked.

42 *Paradise Lost.* Book II.

- 475 Forbidding ; and at once with him they rose ;
 Thir rising all at once was as the sound
 Of Thunder heard remote. Towards him they bend
 With awful reverence prone ; and as a God
 Extoll him equal to the highest in Heav'n :
 480 Nor fail'd they to express how much they prais'd,
 That for the general safety he despis'd
 His own : for neither do the Spirits damn'd
 Loose all her virtue ; least bad men should boast
 Thir specious deeds on earth, which glory excites,
 485 Or cloſ ambition varniſht o're with zeal.
 Thus they thir doubtful consultations dark
 Ended rejoicing in thir matchless Chief :
 As when from mountain tops the dusky clouds
 Ascending, while the North wind sleeps, o'respread
 490 Heav'ns cheerful face, the lowring Element
 Scowls ore the dark'nd lantskip Snow, or showre ;
 If chance the radiant Sun with farewell sweet
 Extend his ev'ning beam, the fields revive,
 The birds thir notes renew, and bleating herds
 495 Attest thir joy, that hill and valley rings.
 O shame to men ! Devil with Devil damn'd
 Firm concord holds, men onely disagree
 Of Creatures rational, though under hope
 Of heavenly Grace : and God proclaiming peace,
 500 Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife
 Among themselves, and levie cruel warres,
 Wasting the Earth, each other to destroy :
 As if (which might induce us to accord)
 Man had not hellish foes anow besides,
 505 That day and night for his destruction waite.
 The Stygian Counsel thus dissolv'd ; and forth
 In order came the grand infernal Peers,
 Midst came thir mighty Paramount, and seemd

Alone

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 475 *rose;*] The top element of the semi-colon is worn in all 1674 copies examined. 481 *he;*] Stressed. 482 *own:*] Italic colon. 483 *her*] *thir* This is obviously an error, and the first edition must be accepted. *virtue;*] *vertue;* 485 *cloſ*] *close* 496 *shame to*] Note the close spacing of these two words. 497 *onely*]] Stressed. 500 *enmity,*] *enmitie,* 506 *Counsel*] *Council*

Book II. *Paradise Lost.* 43

- Alone th' Antagonist of Heav'n, nor less
 510 Than Hells dread Emperour with pomp Supream,
 And God-like imitated State ; him round
 A Globe of fierie Seraphim inclos'd
 With bright imblazonrie, and horrent Arms.
 Then of thir Session ended they bid cry
 515 With Trumpets regal sound the great result :
 Toward the four winds four speedy Cherubim
 Put to thir mouthis the sounding Alchymie
 By Haralds voice explain'd : the hollow Abyss
 Heard farr and wide, and all the host of Hell
 520 With deafning shout, return'd them loud acclaim.
 Thence more at ease thir minds and somwhat rais'd
 By false presumptuous hope, the ranged powers
 Disband, and wandring, each his several way
 Pursues, as inclination or sad choice
 525 Leads him perplext, where he may likeliest find
 Truce to his restless thoughts, and entertain
 The irksom hours, till this great Chief return.
 Part on the Plain, or in the Air sublime
 Upon the wing, or in swift Race contend,
 530 As at th' Olympian Games or *Pythian* fields ;
 Part curb thir fierie Steeds, or shun the Goal
 With rapid wheels, or fronted Brigads form.
 As when to warn proud Cities warr appears
 Wag'd in the troubl'd Skie, and Armies rush
 535 To Battel in the Clouds, before each Van
 Prick forth the Aerie Knights, and couch thir Spears
 Till thickest Legions close ; with feats of Arms
 From either end of Heav'n the welkin burns.
 Others with vast *Typhœan* rage more fell
 540 Rend up both Rocks and Hills, and ride the Air
 In whirlwind ; Hell scarce holds the wilde uproar.
 As when *Alcides* from *Oechalia* Crown'd

With

Running Head. *Loft.*] The recurrent round period. 510 *Than*] Then 518 *explain'd:*] The p
 is faint in all copies examined. 527 *irksom*] *irksome* this] his 529 *Race*] race
 536 *Prick*] *Pric* *Spears*] *spears* 542 *Oechalia*] *Oealia*

44 Paradise Lost. Book. II.

With conquest, felt th' envenom'd robe, and tore
 Through pain up by the roots *Theffalian Pines*,
 545 And *Lichas* from the top of *Oeta* threw
 Into th' *Euboic* Sea. Others more milde,
 Retreated in a silent valley, sing
 With notes Angelical to many a Harp
 Thir own Heroic deeds and hapless fall
 550 By doom of Battel; and complain that Fate
 Free Vertue should enthrall to Force or Chance.
 Thir Song was partial, but the harmony
 (What could it less when Spirits immortal sing?)
 Suspended Hell, and took with ravishment
 555 The thronging audience. In discourse more sweet
 (For Eloquence the Soul, Song charms the Sense,)
 Others apart sat on a Hill retir'd,
 In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high
 Of Providence, Foreknowledge, Will and Fate,
 560 Fixt Fate, free will, foreknowledg absolute,
 And found no end, in wandring mazes lost.
 Of good and evil much they argu'd then,
 Of happiness and final misery,
 Passion and Apathie, and glory and shame,
 565 Vain wisdom all, and false Philosophie;
 Yet with a pleasing sorcerie could charm
 Pain for a while or anguish, and excite
 Fallacious hope, or arm th' obdured brest
 With stubborn patience as with triple steel.
 570 Another part in Squadrons and gross Bands,
 On bold adventure to discover wide
 That dismal world, if any Clime perhaps
 Might yield them easier habitation, bend
 Four ways thir flying March, along the Banks
 575 Of four infernal Rivers that disgorge
 Into the burning Lake thir baleful streams;

Abhor-

Running Head. Book.] Note the occasional, unneeded period. 552 Song] song
 559 Will] Will, 560 foreknowledg] foreknowledge 573 yield] yeild

This is another occurrence of the problem of making two states of the same page appear on facing pages. In order to do this with the two pages that follow, different states of the same recto page, this preceding recto is used for a sort of introduction to them; the first state is printed on the next page, a verso, and the second state appears as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.

Book II. *Paradise Lost.* 45

- Abhorred *Styx* the flood of deadly hate,
 Sad *Acheron* of sorrow, black and deep ;
Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation loud
 580 Heard on the ruful stream ; fierce *Phlegeton*
 Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.
 Farr off from these a slow and silent stream,
Lethe the River of Oblivion roules
 Her watrie Labyrinth, whereof who drinks,
 585 Forthwith his former state and being forgets,
 Forgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain.
 Beyond this flood a frozen Continent
 Lies dark and wilde, beat with perpetual storms
 Of Whirlwind and dire Hail, which on firm land
 590 Thaws not, but gathers heap, and ruin seems
 Of ancient pile ; all else deep snow and ice,
 A gulf profound as that *Serbonian Bog*
 Betwixt *Damiata* and mount *Casius* old,
 Where Armies whole have sunk : the parching Air
 595 Burns frore, and cold performs th' effect of Fire.
 Thither by harpy-footed Furies hail'd,
 At certain revolutions all the damn'd
 Are brought : and feel by turns the bitter change
 Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce,
 600 From Beds of raging Fire to starve in Ice
 Thir soft Ethereal warmth, and there to pine
 Immovable, infixt, and frozen round,
 Periods of time, thence burried back to fire.
 They ferry over this *Lethean Sound*
 605 Both to and fro, thir sorrow to augment,
 And wish and struggle, as they pass, to reach
 The tempting stream, with one small drop to loose
 In sweet forgetfulness all pain and woe,
 All in one moment, and so neer the brink ;
 610 But fate withstands, and to oppose th' attempt

Medusa

STATE 1 (copies 5, 48, and 54 only)

There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 610.

594 funk:] Italic colon. 610 fate\|Fate] fate The initial letter was changed to a capital in 1674 state 2, and the type ate withstands, has been moved to the right to make room for the capital F leaving no space after the comma.

Book II. *Paradise Lost.* 45

- Abhorred *Styx* the flood of deadly hate,
 Sad *Acheron* of sorrow, black and deep ;
Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation loud
 580 Heard on the ruful stream ; fierce *Phlegeton*
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 A gulf profound as that *Serbonian Bog*
 Betwixt *Damiata* and mount *Casius* old,
 Where Armies whole have sunk : the parching Air
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 At certain revolutions all the damn'd
 Are brought : and feel by turns the bitter change
 Of fierce extreams, extreams by change more fierce,
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 Thir soft Ethereal warmth, and there to pine
 Immovable, infixt, and frozen round,
 Periods of time, thence hurried back to fire.
 They ferry over this *Lethean* Sound
 605 Both to and fro, thir sorrow to augment,
 And wish and struggle, as they pass, to reach
 The tempting stream, with one small drop to loose
 In sweet forgetfulness all pain and woe,
 All in one moment, and so neer the brink ;
 610 But Fate withstands, and to oppose th' attempt

Medusa

STATE 2 (all copies examined except 5, 48, and 54)

There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 610.

46 Paradise Lost. Book II.

- Medusa with Gorgonian terror guards
 The Ford, and of it self the water flies
 All taste of living wight, as once it fled
 The lip of Tantalus. Thus roving on
 615 In confus'd march forlorn, th' adventurous Bands
 With shuddring horror pale, and eyes agast
 View'd first thir lamentable lot, and found
 No rest : through many a dark and drearie Vaile
 They pass'd, and many a Region dolorous,
 620 O're many a Frozen, many a fierie Alpe,
 Rocks, Caves, Lakes, Fens, Bogs, Dens, and shades of
 A Universe of death, which God by curse (death,
 Created evil, for evil only good,
 Where all life dies, death lives, and Nature breeds,
 625 Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
 Abominable, inutterable, and worse
 Than Fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceiv'd,
Gorgons and Hydra's, and Chimera's dire.
 Mean while the Adversary of God and Man,
 630 Satan with thoughts inflam'd of highest design,
 Puts on swift wings, and towards the Gates of Hell
 Explores his solitary flight ; som times
 He scours the right hand coast, som times the left,
 Now shaves with level wing the Deep, then soars
 635 Up to the fiery Concave touring high.
 As when farr off at Sea a Fleet descri'd
 Hangs in the Clouds, by *Aequinoctial* Winds
 Close sailing from *Bengala*, or the Iles
 Of *Ternate* and *Tidore*, whence Merchants bring
 640 Thir spicie Drugs : they on the Trading Flood
 Through the wide *Ethiopian* to the Cape
 Ply stemming nightly toward the Pole. So seem'd
 Farr off the flying Fiend : at last appeer
 Hell bounds high reaching to the horrid Roof,

And

620 fierie] Fierie 624 Nature] nature 627 Than] Then 631 towards] toward
 635 Concave] concave 640 Trading] trading

Book II. *Paradise Lost.* 47

- 645 And thrice threefold the Gates; three folds were Brass,
 Three Iron, three of Adamantine Rock,
 Impenetrable, impal'd with circling fire,
 Yet unconsum'd. Before the Gates there sat
 On either side a formidable shape ;
 650 The one seem'd Woman to the waste, and fair,
 But ended foul in many a scaly fould
 Voluminous and vast, a Serpent arm'd
 With mortal sting : about her middle round
 A cry of Hell Hounds never ceasing bark'd
 655 With wide *Cerberian* mouths full loud, and rung
 A hideous Peal : yet, when they list, would creep,
 If aught disturb'd thir noyse, into her woomb,
 And kennel there, yet there still bark'd and howl'd,
 Within unseen. Farr less abhorrd than these
 660 Vex'd *Scylla* bathing in the Sea that parts
Calabria from the hoarce *Trinacrian* shore :
 Nor uglier follow the Night-Hag, when call'd
 In secret, riding through the Air she comes
 Lur'd with the smell of infant blood, to dance
 665 With *Lapland* Witches, while the labouring Moon
 Eclipses at thir charms. The other shape,
 If shape it might be call'd that shape had none
 Distinguishable in member, joynt, or limb,
 Or substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd,
 670 For each seem'd either ; black it stood as Night,
 Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell,
 And shook a dreadful Dart ; what seem'd his head
 The likeness of a Kingly Crown had on.
Satan was now at hand, and from his seat
 675 The Monster moving onward came as fast
 With horrid strides, Hell trembled as he strode.
 Th' undaunted Fiend what this might be admir'd,
 Admir'd, not fear'd ; God and his Son except,

Created

645 Gates;three] No space after the semicolon in any copy examined.

647 Impenetrable,] Impenitralble, 655 Cerberian] Cerberean 658 howl'd,] howl'd
 659 than] then 669 seem'd,]] The comma is smashed in all 1674 copies examined.
 675 fast] fast,

48 *Paradise Lost.* Book II.

- Created thing naught valu'd he nor shun'd ;
 680 And with disdainful look thus first began.
 Whence and what art thou, execrable shape,
 That dar'st, though grim and terrible, advance
 Thy miscreated Front athwart my way
 To yonder Gates ? through them I mean to pass,
 685 That be assur'd, without leave askt of thee :
 Retire, or taste thy folly, and learn by proof,
 Hell-born, not to contend with Spirits of Heav'n.
 To whom the Goblin full of wrauth reply'd,
 Art thou that Traitor Angel, art thou hee,
 690 Who first broke peace in Heav'n and Faith, till then
 Unbrok'n, and in proud rebellious Arms
 Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's Sons
 Conjur'd against the highest, for which both Thou
 And they outcast from God, are here condemn'd
 695 To waste Eternal daies in woe and pain ?
 And reck'n'st thou thy self with Spirits of Heav'n,
 Hell-doom'd, and breath'st defiance here and scorn
 Where I reign King, and to enrage thee more,
 Thy King and Lord ? Back to thy punishment,
 700 False fugitive, and to thy speed add wings,
 Least with a whip of Scorpions I pursue
 Thy lingring, or with one strokē of this Dart
 Strange horror seise thee, and pangs unfelt before.
 So spake the grieslie terror, and in shape,
 705 So speaking and so threatening, grew tenfold
 More dreadful and deform : on th' other side
 Incenc't with indignation *Satan* stood
 Unterrifi'd, and like a Comēt burn'd,
 That fires the length of *Ophiusus* huge
 710 In th' Artick Sky, and from his horrid hair
 Shakes Pestilence and Warr. Each at the Head
 Level d his deadly aime ; thir fatall hands

No

STATE I (copies 5, 48, and 54 only)

There are two 1674 states of this page, see lines 695 and 707.

679 valu'd] vallu'd 695 daies\dayes] daies 1674 copies 5, 48, and 54 only agree with first edition. 697 doom'd,] doomd, scorn] fcorn, 702 strokē] stroke The final c of 1674 is doubtless foul case. 705 tenfold] ten fold 707 Incenc't\Incent] Incenc't The close following of the

48 **Paradise Lost.** Book II.

Created thing naught valu'd he nor shun'd ;
 680 And with disdainful look thus first began.
 Whence and what art thou, execrable shape,
 That dar'st, though grim and terrible, advance
 Thy miscreated Front athwart my way
 To yonder Gates? through them I mean to pass,
 685 That be assur'd, without leave askt of thee :
 Retire, or taste thy folly, and learn by proof,
 Hell-born, not to contend with Spirits of Heav'n.
 To whom the Goblin full of wrauth reply'd,
 Art thou that Traitor Angel, art thou hee,
 690 Who first broke peace in Heav'n and Faith, till then
 Unbrok'n, and in proud rebellious Arms
 Drew after him the third part of Heav'ns Sons
 Conjur'd against the highest, for which both Thou
 And they outcast from God, are here condemn'd
 695 To waste Eternal dayes in woe and pain ?
 And reck'n'st thou thy self with Spirits of Heav'n,
 Hell-doom'd, and breath'st defiance here and scorn
 Where I reign King, and to enrage thee more,
 Thy King and Lord? Back to thy punishment,
 700 False fugitive, and to thy speed add wings,
 Least with a whip of Scorpions I pursue
 Thy lingring, or with one strok of this Dart
 Strange horror seise thee, and pangs unfelt before.
 So spake the grieslie terour, and in shape,
 705 So speaking and so threatning, grew tenfold
 More dreadful and deform : on th' other side
 Incenst with indignation *Satan* stood
 Unterrifi'd, and like a Comet burn'd,
 That fires the length of *Ophiucus* huge
 710 In th' Artick Sky, and from his horrid hair
 Shakes Pestilence and Warr. Each at the Head
 Level d his deadly aime ; thir fatall hands

No

STATE 2 (all copies examined except 5, 48, and 54)

There are two 1674 states of this page, see lines 695 and 707.

first edition here is found only in 1674 copies 5, 48, and 54. [712 Level d] In all copies examined, the space for the apostrophe appears; but in no copy is there the faintest trace of an ink mark.

Because both the facing prints immediately before this page were versos as bound, this page is used only in order to have the next page, a recto as bound, print herein as a recto.

Book II. *Paradise Lost.* 49

No second stroke intend, and such a frown
 Each cast at th' other, as when two black Clouds
 715 With Heav'n's Artillery fraught, come rattling on
 Over the *Caspian*, then stand front to front
 Hov'ring a space, till Winds the signal blow
 To joyn thir dark Encounter in mid air :
 So frownd the mighty Combatants, that Hell
 720 Grew darker at thir frown, so matcht they stood ;
 For never but once more was either like
 To meet so great a foe : and now great deeds
 Had been achiev'd, whereof all Hell had rung,
 Had not the Snakie Sorcerers that sat
 725 Fast by Hell Gate, and kept the fatal Key,
 Ris'n, and with hideous outcry rush'd between.
 O Father, what intends thy hand, she cry'd,
 Against thy only Son ? What fury O Son,
 Possesses thee to bend that mortal Dart
 730 Against thy Fathers head ? and know'st for whom ;
 For him who sits above and laughs the while
 At thee ordain'd his drudge, to execute
 What e're his wrath, which he calls Justice, bids,
 His wrath which one day will destroy ye both.
 735 She spake, and at her words the hellish Pest
 Forbore, then these to her *Satan* return'd :
 So strange thy outcry, and thy words so strange
 Thou interposed, that my sudden hand
 Prevented spares to tell thee yet by deeds
 740 What it intends ; till first I know of thee,
 What thing thou art, thus double-form'd, and why
 In this infernal Vaile first met thou call'st
 Me Father, and that Fantasm call'st my Son ?
 I know thee not, nor ever saw till now
 745 Sight more detestable then him and thee.

E

T' whom

714 other,] other,\other, 732 execute] The c is faint in all copies examined. 733 he]] Stressed.

50 *Paradise Lost.* Book II.

T' whom thus the Portres of Hell Gate reply'd ;
 Hast thou forgot me then, and do I seem
 Now in thine eye so foul, once deemd so fair
 In Heav'n, when at th' Assembly, and in sight
 750 Of all the Seraphim with thee combin'd
 In bold conspiracy against Heav'n's King,
 All on a sudden miserable pain
 Surpris'd thee, dim thine eyes, and dizzie swumm
 In darkness, while thy head flames thick and fast
 755 Threw forth, till on the left side op'ning wide,
 Likest to thee in shape and count'nce bright,
 Then shinning heav'nly fair, a Goddess arm'd
 Out of thy head I sprung : amazement seis'd
 All th' Host of Heav'n ; back they recoild affraid
 760 At first, and call'd me *Sin*, and for a Sign
 Portentous held me ; but familiar grown,
 I pleas'd, and with attractive graces won
 The most averse, thee chiefly, who full oft
 Thy self in me thy perfect image viewing
 765 Becam'st enamour'd, and such joy thou took'st
 With me in secret, that my womb conceiv'd
 A growing burden. Mean while VVarr arose,
 And fields were fought in Heav'n ; wherein remaind
 (For what could else) to our Almighty Foe
 770 Cleer Vi&tory, to our part loss and rout
 Through all the Empyrean : down they fell
 Driv'n headlong from the Pitch of Heaven, down
 Into this Deep, and in the general fall
 I also ; at whichtime this powerful Key
 775 Into my hand was giv'n, with charge to keep
 These Gates for ever shut, which none can pass
 VVithout my op'ning. Pensive here I sat
 Alone, but long I sat not, till my womb

Pregnant

755 *forth,*] The comma is broken in all 1674 copies examined. 764 *self*] The f is battered in all copies examined. 771 *Empyrean:*] Italic colon.

Book II. *Paradise Lost.* 51

- Pregnant by thee, and now excessive grown
 780 Prodigious motion felt and rueful throes.
 At last this odious offspring whom thou seest
 Thine own begotten, breaking violent way
 Tore through my entrails, that with fear and pain
 Distorted, all my nether shape thus grew
 785 Transform'd : but he my inbred enemie
 Forth issu'd, brandishing his fatal Dart
 Made to destroy : I fled, and cry'd out *Death* ;
 Hell trembl'd at the hideous Name, and sigh'd
 From all her Caves, and back resounded *Death*.
 790 I fled, but he pursu'd (though more, it seems,
 Inflam'd with lust then rage) and swifter far,
 Mee overtook his mother all dismaid,
 And in embraces forcible and foule
 Ingendring with me, of that rape begot
 795 These yelling Monsters that with ceaseless cry
 Surround me, as thou sawst, hourly conceiv'd
 And hourly born, with sorrow infinite
 To me, for when they list into the womb
 That bred them they return, and howle and graw
 800 My Bowels, thir repast ; then bursting forth
 A fresh with conscious terrors vex me round,
 That rest or intermission none I find.
 Before mine eyes in opposition sits
 Grim *Death* my Son and foe, who sets them on,
 805 And me his Parent would full soon devour
 For want of other prey, but that he knows
 His end with mine involvd ; and knows that I
 Should prove a bitter Morsel, and his bane,
 VVhen ever that shall be ; so Fate pronounc'd.
 810 But thou O Father, I forewarn thee, shun
 His deadly arrow ; neither vainly hope
 To be invulnerable in those bright Arms,

E 2

Though

785 *Transform'd:*] Italic colon. *he*] Stressed. 792 *Mee*] Me This change from the first edition was accomplished successfully; but in line 785 the word *he* almost equally stressed was left as in the first edition. 800 *thir*] their The first edition form seems preferable, as the word seems to need stress. 801 *A fresh*] Afresh The space here in 1674 was probably unintentional. 805 *me*] Stressed.

52 *Paradise Lost.* Book II.

Though temper'd heav'nly, for that mortal dint,
Save he who reigns above, none can resist.

- 815 She finish'd, and the subtle Fiend his lore
Soon learn'd, now milder, and thus answerd smooth.
Dear Daughter, since thou claim'st me for thy Sire,
And my fair Son here shovst me, the dear pledge
Of dalliance had with thee in Heav'n, and joys
820 Then sweet, now sad to mention, through dire change
Befalln us unforeseen, unthought of, know
I come no enemie, but to set free
From out this dark and dismal house of pain,
Both him and thee, and all the heav'nly Host
825 Of Spirits that in our just pretenses arm'd
Fell with us from on high: from them I go
This uncouth errand sole, and one for all
My self expose, with lonely steps to tread
Th' unfounded deep, and through the void immense
830 To search with wandring quest a place foretold
Should be, and, by concurring signs, ere now
Created vast and round, a place of bliss
In the Pourlieues of Heav'n, and therein plac't
A race of upstart Creatures, to supply
835 Perhaps our vacant room, though more remov'd,
Least Heav'n surcharg'd with potent multitude
Might hap to move new broiles: Be this or aught
Then this more secret now design'd, I haste
To know, and this once known, shall soon return,
840 And bring ye to the place where Thou and Death
Shall dwell at ease, and up and down unseen
VVing silently the buxom Air, imbalm'd
VVith odours; there ye shall be fed and fill'd
Inmeasurably, all things shall be your prey.
845 He ceas'd, for both seemd highly pleas'd, and Death
Grinnd horrible a gasty smile, to hear

His

814 *he]]* Stressed. 815 *She]* The S is below type alignment. 819 *Heav'n,] Heavn',\Heav'n,*
827 *This]* The s is battered in all copies examined. 829 *Th' unfounded]* The apostrophe is
faint and appears to be broken in all 1674 copies examined. and] &

Book II. *Paradise Lost.* 53

His famine should be fill'd, and blest his mawe
 Destin'd to that good hour : no less rejoyc'd
 His mother bad, and thus bespake her Sire.

- 850 The key of this infernal Pit by due,
 And by command of Heav'n's all-powerful King
 I keep, by him forbidden to unlock
 These Adamantine Gates ; against all force
 Death ready stands to interpose his dart,
 855 Fearless to be o'rmatcht by living might.
 But what ow I to his commands above
 Who hates me, and hath hither thrust me down
 Into this gloom of *Tartarus* profound,
 To sit in hateful Office here confin'd,
 860 Inhabitant of Heav'n, and heav'nlie-born,
 Here in perpetual agonie and pain,
 With terrors and with clamors compasst round
 Of mine own brood, that on my bowels feed :
 Thou art my Father, thou my Author, thou
 865 My being gav' st me ; whom should I obey
 But thee, whom follow ? thou wilt bring me soon
 To that new world of light and bliss, among
 The Gods who live at ease, where I shall Reign
 At thy right hand voluptuous, as beseems
 870 Thy daughter and thy darling, without end.
- Thus saying, from her side the fatal Key,
 Sad instrument of all our woe, she took ;
 And towards the Gate rouling her bestial train,
 Forthwith the huge Porcullis high up drew,
 875 Which but her self not all the *Stygian* powers
 Could once have mov'd ; then in the key-hole turns
 Th'intricate wards, and every Bolt and Bar
 Of massie Iron or solid Rock with ease
 Unfast'ns : on a sudden op'n flie
 880 With impetuous recoile and jarring sound

E 3

Th' in-

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 850 due,]] The comma is worn in all 1674 copies examined. 855 o'rmatcht] o'rematcht 859 confin'd,]] The apostrophe is entirely lacking in most 1674 copies examined. The comma is clear in some 1674 copies and broken in others.

54 *Paradise Lost.* Book II.

- Th' infernal dores, and on thir hinges grate
 Harsh Thunder, that the lowest bottom shook
 Of *Erebus*. She op'nd, but to shut
 Excel'd her power ; the Gates wide op'n stood,
 That with extended wings a Bannerd Host
 Under spread Ensigns marching might pass through
 With Horse and Chariots rankt in loose array ;
 So wide they stood, and like a Furnace mouth
 Cast forth redounding smoak and ruddy flame.
- Before thir eyes in sudden view appear
 The secrets of the hoarie deep, a dark
 Illimitable Ocean without bound,
 Without dimension, where length,breadth,& highth,
 And time and place are lost ; where eldest Night
 And *Chaos*, Ancestors of Nature, hold
 Eternal *Anarchie*, amidst the noise
 Of endless Warrs, and by confusion stand.
 For hot, cold, moist, and dry, four Champions fierce
 Strive here for Maistrie, and to Battel bring
 Thir embryon Atoms ; they around the flag
 Of each his Faction, in thir several Clans,
 Light-arm'd or heavy, sharp, smooth, swift or slow,
 Swarm populous, unnumber'd as the Sands
 Of *Barca* or *Cyrene*'s torrid soil,
 Levied to side with warring Winds, and poise
 Thir lighter wings. To whom these moit adhere,
 Hee rules a moment ; *Chaos* Umpire sits,
 And by decision more imbroiles the fray
 By which he Reigns : next him high Arbiter
Chance governs all. Into this wilde Abys,
 The Womb of nature and perhaps her Grave,
 Of neither Sea, nor Shore, nor Air, nor Fire,
 But all these in thir pregnant causes mixt
 Confus'dly, and which thus must ever fight,

Unless

881 grate] great Called for in the 1668 *Errata*. 893 &] and 897 Warrs,] warrs,
 901 Faction,) faction, 911 Womb] The W is wrong font.

Book II. *Paradise Lost.* 55

- 915 Unless th' Almighty Maker them ordain
 His dark materials to create more Worlds,
 Into this wild Abyss the warie fiend
 Stood on the brink of Hell and look'd a while,
 Pondering his Voyage ; for no narrow frith
 920 He had to cross. Nor was his eare less peal'd
 With noises loud and ruinous (to compare
 Great things with small) then when *Bellona* storms,
 With all her battering Engines bent to rase
 Som Capital City ; or less then if this frame
 925 Of Heav'n were falling, and these Elements
 In mutinie had from her Axle torn
 The stedfast Earth. At last his Sail-broad Vannes
 He spreads for flight, and in the surging smoak
 Uplifted spurns the ground, thence many a League
 930 As in a cloudy Chair ascending rides
 Audacious, but that seat soon failing, meets
 A vast vacuitie : all unawares
 Fluttring his pennons vain plumb down he drops
 Ten thousand fadom deep, and to this hour
 935 Down had been falling, had not by ill chance
 The strong rebuff of som tumultuous cloud
 Instinct with Fire and Nitre hurried him
 As many miles aloft : that furie stay'd,
 Quencht in a Boggie *Syrtis*, neither Sea,
 940 Nor good dry Land : nigh founderd on he fares,
 Treading the crude consistence, half on foot,
 Half flying ; behoves him now both Oare and Saile.
 As when a Gryfor through the Wildernes
 With winged course ore Hill or moarie Dale,
 945 Pursues the *Arimaspian*, who by stelth
 Had from his wakeful custody purloind
 The guarded Gold : So eagerly the fiend
 Ore bog or steep, through strait,rough,dense,or rare,

E 4

With

916 Worlds,) The W is wrong font. 917 wild} wilde 923 With] The W is wrong font.
 924 City;) City, 932 vacuitie:] The t is battered in all copies examined. 938 aloft:] Italic
 colon. 940 Land:] Italic colon. 943 Wildernes] The W is wrong font.

56 *Paradise Lost.* Book II.

With head, hands, wings or feet pursues his way,
 950 And swims or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies :
 At length a universal hubbub wilde
 Of stunning sounds and voices all confus'd
 Born through the hollow dark assaults his eare
 With loudest vehemence : thither he plyes,
 955 Undaunted to meet there what ever power
 Or Spirit of the nethermost Abyss
 Might in that noise reside, of whom to ask
 Which way the neerest coast of darkness lies
 Bordering on light ; when strait behold the Throne
 960 Of *Chaos*, and his dark Pavilion spread
 Wide on the wasteful Deep ; with him Enthron'd
 Sat Sable-vested *Night*, eldest of things,
 The Consort of his Reign ; and by them stood
 Orcus and *Ades*, and the dreaded name
 965 Of *Demogorgon* ; *Rumor* next and *Chance*,
 And *Tumult* and *Confusion* all imbroild,
 And *Discord* with a thousand various mouths.
 T' whom *Satan* turning boldly, thus. Ye Powers
 And Spirits of this nethermost Abyss,
 970 *Chaos* and *ancient Night*, I come no Spy,
 With purpose to explore or to disturb
 The secrets of your Realm, but by constraint
 Wandring this darksome Desart, as my way,
 Lies through your spacious Empire up to light,
 975 Alone, and without guide, half lost, I seek
 What readiest path leads where your gloomie bounds
 Confine with Heav'n ; or if som other place
 From your Dominion won, th' Ethereal King
 Possesses lately, thither to arrive
 980 I travel this profound, direct my course ;
 Directed no mean recompence it brings
 To your behoof, if I that Region lost,

All

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 949 wings] wings, 958 Which] The W is wrong font. 962 *Night,*] Night, 963 *Consort*] *confort* and] The n is very faint in all copies examined. 965 *Rumor*] *Rumor* *Chance,*] *Chance*, 966 *Tumult* *Confusion*] *Confusion* 967 *Discord*] *Discord* 970 *Spy,*] *Spie*, 973 *Desart,*] *desart*, way,] wav No comma is wanted. 981 *Directed*] *Directed*, A comma seems to be needed.

Book II. *Paradise Lost.* 57

- All usurpation thence expell'd, reduce
 To her original darkness and your sway
 985 (Which is my present journey) and once more
 Erect the Standard there of *ancient Night* ;
 Yours be th' advantage all, mine the revenge.
 Thus *Satan* ; and him thus the Anarch old
 With faultring speech and visage incompos'd
 990 Answer'd. I know thee, stranger, who thou art,
 That mighty leading Angel, who of late
 Made head against Heav'n's King, though overthrown.
 I saw and heard, for such a numerous Host
 Fled not in silence through the frightened deep
 995 VVith ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,
 Confusion worse confounded ; and Heav'n Gates
 Pourd out by millions her victorious Bands
 Pursuing. I upon my Frontieres here
 Keep residence ; if all I can will serve,
 1000 That little which is left so to defend,
 Encroacht on still through our intestine broiles
 VVeakning the Scepter of old *Night* : first Hell
 Your dungeon stretching far and wide beneath ;
 Now lately Heaven and Earth, another VWorld
 1005 Hung ore my Realm, link'd in a golden Chain
 To that side Heav'n from whence your Legions fell :
 If that way be your walk, you have not farr ;
 So much the neerer danger ; go and speed ;
 Havock and spoil and ruin are my gain.
 1010 He ceas'd ; and *Satan* staid not to reply,
 But glad that now his Sea should find a shore,
 VVith fresh alacritie and force renew'd
 Springs upward like a Pyramid of fire
 Into the wilde expanse, and through the shock
 1015 Of fighting Elements, on all sides round
 Environ'd wins his way ; harder beset

And

986 Standard] standerd\Standerd 993 Host] host 1000 defend,] defend A comma seems to be needed. 1001 our]] Though both 1667 and 1674 so read, I think Milton intended 'your.' 1002 *Night:*] Night: 1008 go] goe 1009 Havock] Havook\Havock 1674 agrees with 1667 state 2 of text.

58 *Paradise Lost.* Book II.

- And more endanger'd, then when *Argo* pass'd
 Through *Bosporus* betwixt the justling Rocks :
 Or when *Ulysses* on the Larbord shunnd
 1020 *Charybdis*, and by th' other whirlpool steard.
 So he with difficulty and labour hard
 Mov'd on, with difficulty and labour hee ;
 But hee once past, soon after when man fell,
 Strange alteration ! Sin and Death amain
 1025 Following his track, such was the will of Heav'n,
 Pav'd after him a broad and beat'n way
 Over the dark Abyss, whose boiling Gulf
 Tamely endur'd a Bridge of wondrous length
 From Hell continu'd reaching th' utmost Orbe
 1030 Of this frail VVorld ; by which the Spirits perverse
 VVith easie intercourse pass to and fro
 To tempt or punish mortals, except whom
 God and good Angels guard by special grace.
 But now at last the sacred influence
 1035 Of light appears, and from the walls of Heav'n
 Shoots farr into the bosom of dim Night
 A glimmering dawn ; here Nature first begins
 Her fardest verge, and *Chaos* to retire
 As from her outmost works a brok'd foe
 1040 VVith tumult less and with less hostile din,
 That *Satan* with less toil, and now with ease
 VVafts on the calmer wave by dubious light
 And like a weather-beaten Vessel holds
 Gladly the Port, though Shrouds and Tackle torn ;
 1045 Or in the emptier waste, resembling Air,
 VVeighs his spread wings, at leisure to behold
 Farr off th' Empyreal Heav'n, extended wide
 In circuit, undetermined square or round,
 VVith Opal Towns and Battlements adorn'd
 1050 Of living Saphire, once his native Seat ;

And

Running Head. *Loft.*] The recurrent round period. 1039 *brok'd*] *brok'n* In copies 12 and 22 of 1674, the d is skillfully altered to 'n' by a pen. This was probably done in the print shop.
 1041 *toil,*] The i is faint in all copies examined. 1050 *Of]* *Of*

Book II. *Paradise Lost.* 59

And fast by hanging in a golden Chain
This pendant world, in bigness as a Starr
Of smallest Magnitude close by the Moon.
Thither full fraught with mischievous revenge,
1055 Accurst, and in a cursed hour he hies.

The End of the Second Book.

Paradise

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. Catchword. *Paradise*] PARA-

60

Paradise Lost.

BOOK III.

THE ARGUMENT.

God sitting on his Throne sees Satan flying towards this world, then newly created; shews him to the Son who sat at his right hand; foretells the success of Satan in perverting mankind; clears his own Justice and Wisdom from all imputation, having created Man free and able enough to have withstood his Tempter; yet declares his purpose of grace towards him, in regard he fell not of his own malice, as did Satan, but by him seduc't. The Son of God renders praises to his Father for the manifestation of his gracious purpose towards Man; but God again declares, that Grace cannot be extended towards Man without the satisfaction of divine Justice; Man hath offended the majesty of God by aspiring to God-head, and therefore with all his Progeny devoted to death must dye, unless some one can be found sufficient to answer for his offence, and undergo his Punishment. The Son of God freely offers himself a Ransome for Man: the Father

Title. Paradise Loft.] PARADISE/ LOST. In 1674 the first a is the one with the nicks in the vertical stroke. The rules are composite, not solid.

THE ARGUMENT. The collation of the Argument only, in order, is 1674, 1668, and 1669.
 1 God] GOd]] Satan]] Satan 2 world,]] World, 3 his]] the hand;]] hand,
 4 Satan]] Satan mankind;]] Mankind; Justice]] justice 5 Wisdom]] wisdom
 imputation,]] imputation 6 withstood]] withstood 8 Satan,]] Satan, 9 seduc't.]] seduc'd.
 14 majesty]] majesty God-head,] Godhead,] Godhead; 15 death]] death, must] must]]
 17 undergo] undergo Son]] Son

Book III. *Paradise Lost.* 61

20 Father accepts him, ordains his incarnation, pronoun-
ces his exaltation above all Names in Heaven and
Earth; commands all the Angels to adore him; they obey, and hymning to thir Harps in full Quire,
celebrate the Father and the Son. Meanwhile Sa-
tan alights upon the bare Convex of this World's outer-
most Orb; where wandering he first finds a place
since call'd The Lymbo of Vanity; what persons and
things fly up thither; thence comes to the Gate of
Heaven, describ'd ascending by staires, and the wa-
ters above the Firmament that flow about it: His
passage thence to the Orb of the Sun; he finds there
Uriel the Regient of that Orb, but first changes
himself into the shape of a meaner Angel; and pre-
tending a zealous desire to behold the new Creation
and Man whom God had plac't here, inquires of him
35 the place of his habitation, and is directed; alights
first on Mount Niphates.

Hail holy Light, offspring of Heav'n first-born,
Or of th' Eternal Coeternal beam
May I express thee unblamid? since God
is light,
And never but in unapproached light
5 Dwelt from Eternitie, dwelt then in thee,
Bright effluence of bright essence increate.
Or hear'st thou rather pure Ethereal stream,
Whose Fountain who shall tell? before the Sun,
Before the Heavens thou wert, and at the voice
10 Of God, as with a Mantle didst invest
The rising world of waters dark and deep,
Won from the void and formless infinite.
Thee I re-visit now with bolder wing,
Escap't the Stygian Pool, though long detain'd

In

THE ARGUMENT. The collation of the Argument only is 1674, 1668, and 1669.

24 Convex] convex]] 24-25 outer-/ most] outermost]] first] first]] 26 The]] the
28 staires,] stairs,]] 31 Regient] Regent]] first] first]] 32 Angel;] Angel?] An-/ gel;
34 here,]] there, 36 first] first]]

THE TEXT. 1 Light,] light, 11 waters] The s is very faint in all copies examined.

62 *Paradise Lost.* Book III.

- 15 In that obscure sojourn, while in my flight
 Through utter and through middle darknes borne
 With other notes then to th' *Orphean Lyre*
 I sung of *Chaos* and *Eternal Night*,
 Taught by the heav'nly Muse to venture down
 20 The dark descent, and up to reascend,
 Though hard and rare : thee I revisit safe,
 And feel thy sovran vital Lamp ; but thou
 Revisit'st not these eyes, that rowle in vain
 To find thy piercing ray, and find no dawn ;
 25 So thick a drop serene hath quencht thir Orbs,
 Or dim suffusion veild. Yet not the more
 Cease I to wander where the Muses haunt
 Cleer Spring, or shadie Grove, or Sunnie Hill,
 Smit with the love of sacred Song ; but chief
 30 Thee *Sion* and the flowrie Brooks beneath
 That wash thy hallowd feet, and warbling flow,
 Nightly I visit : nor somtimes forget
 Those other two equal'd with me in Fate,
 So were I equal'd with them in renown,
 35 Blind *Thamyris* and blind *Mæonides*,
 And *Tiresias* and *Phineus* Prophets old.
 Then feed on thoughts, that voluntarie move
 Harmonious numbers ; as the wakeful Bird
 Sings darkling, and in shadiest Covert hid
 40 Tunes her nocturnal Note. Thus with the Year
 Seasons return, but not to me returns
 Day, or the sweet approach of Ev'n or Morn,
 Or sight of vernal bloom, or Summers Rose,
 Or flocks, or heards, or human face divine ;
 45 But cloud in stead, and ever-during dark
 Surrounds me, from the chearful wayes of men
 Cut off, and for the Book of knowledg fair
 Presented with a Universal blanc

Of

25 Orbs,]] The punctuation here is a comma in 1674 as in 1667. 29 Song;] song; 33 me]] Stressed? 35 *Mæonides*,] *Mæonides**Mæonides*, 1674 agrees with state 2 of 1667.
 40 Year] year\Year 1674 agrees with state 2 of 1667. 41 me]] Stressed.
 44 heards,] herds, 46 wayes] waies

Book III. *Paradise Lost.* 63

- Of Natures works to mee expung'd and ras'd,
 50 And wisdome at one entrance quite shut out.
 So much the rather thou Celestial light
 Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
 Irradiate, there plant eyes, all mist from thence
 Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell
 55 Of things invisible to mortal sight.
 Now had the Almighty Father from above,
 From the pure Empyrean where he sits
 High Thron'd above all highth, bent down his eye,
 His own works and their works at once to view :
 60 About him all the Sanctities of Heaven
 Stood thick as Starrs, and from his sight receiv'd
 Beatitude past utterance ; on his right
 The radiant image of his Glory sat,
 His onely Son ; On Earth he first beheld
 65 Our two first Parents, yet the onely two
 Of mankind, in the happie Garden plac't,
 Reaping immortal fruits of joy and love,
 Uninterrupted joy, unrivald love
 In blissful solitude ; he then survey'd
 70 Hell and the Gulf between, and *Satan* there
 Coasting the wall of Heav'n on this side Night
 In the dun Air sublime, and ready now
 To stoop with wearied wings, and willingfeet
 On the bare outside of this World, that seem'd
 75 Firm land imbosom'd without Firmament,
 Uncertain which, in Ocean or in Air.
 Him God beholding from his prospect high,
 Wherein past, present, future he beholds,
 Thus to his onely Son foreseeing spake.
 80 Onely begotten Son, seest thou what rage
 Transports our adversarie, whom no bounds
 Prescrib'd, no barrs of Hell, nor all the chains

Heapt

59 *their*]] Stressed. *view:*] Italic colon. 61 *sight*] *slight**fight* 1674 agrees with state 2 of 1667. 64 *onely*]] Stressed. 65 *onely*]] Stressed. 74 *World,*] The W is wrong font. 77 *God*] The G is broken in all copies examined. 78 *Wherein*] The W is wrong font. 79 *onely*]] Stressed.

64 *Paradise Lost.* Book III.

Heapt on him there, nor yet the main Abyss
 Wide interrupt can hold ; so bent he seems
 85 On desparate reveng, that shall redound
 Upon his own rebellious head. And now
 Through all restraint broke loose he wings his way
 Not farr off Heav'n, in the Precincts of light,
 Directly towards the new created World,
 90 And Man there plac't, with purpose to assay
 If him by force he can destroy, or worse,
 By some false guile pervert ; and shall pervert
 For man will hark'n to his glozing lyes,
 And easily transgress the sole Command,
 95 Sole pledge of his obedience : So will fall,
 Hee and his faithless Progenie : whose fault ?
 Whose but his own ? ingrate, he had of mee
 All he could have ; I made him just and right,
 Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.
 100 Such I created all th' Ethereal Powers
 And Spirits, both them who stood and them who faild;
 Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.
 Not free, what proof could they have givn sincere
 Of true allegiance, constant Faith or Love,
 105 Where onely what they needs must do, appeard,
 Not what they would ? what praise could they re-
 What pleasure I from such obedience paid, (ceive ?
 When Will and Reason (Reason also is choice)
 Useless and vain, of freedom both despoild,
 110 Made passive both, had servd necessitie,
 Not mee. They therefore as to right belongd,
 So were created, nor can justly accuse
 Thir maker, or thir making, or thir Fate ,
 As if predestination over-rul'd
 115 Thir will, dispos'd by absolute Decree
 Or high foreknowledge ; they themselves decreed

Thir

85 desparate] desperat reveng,] revenge, 91 he]] Stressed? 92 some] som
 Second pervert] pervert; The third edition, 1678, printed a comma here. Certainly some punctuation is needed. 93 hark'n] heark'n 95 fall,] fall 96 fault?] The question mark is italic. 97 Whose] The W is wrong font. mee] me\mee 1674 agrees with state 2 of 1667.
 101 and] & 105 onely]] Stressed. 107 What] The W is wrong font. 108 When] The W is wrong font. 113 Fate,] Fate; Some 1674 copies seem to carry a semicolon here; but close examination discloses that the mark or marks above the comma are offset smears, or some similar accident. 114 predestination] Predestination

Book III. *Paradise Lost.* 65

Thir own revolt, not I : if I foreknew,
Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault,
Which had no less prov'd certain unforeknown.

120 So without least impulse or shadow of Fate,
Or aught by me immutablie foreseen,
They trespass, Authors to themselves in all
Both what they judge and what they choose ; for so
I formd them free, and free they must remain,

125 Till they enthrall themselves : I else must change
Thir nature, and revoke the high Decree
Unchangeable, Eternal, which ordain'd
Thir freedom, they themselves ordain'd thir fall.

The first sort by thir own suggestion fell,
Self-tempted, self-deprav'd : Man falls deceiv'd
By the other first : Man therefore shall find grace,
The other none : in Mercy and Justice both,
Through Heav'n and Earth, so shall my glorie excel,
But Mercy first and last shall brightest shine.

135 Thus while God spake, ambrosial fragrance fill'd
All Heav'n, and in the blessed Spirits elect
Sense of new joy ineffable diffus'd :
Beyond compare the Son of God was seen
Most glorious, in him all his Father shon

140 Substantially express'd, and in his face
Divine compassion visibly appeerd,
Love without end, and without measure Grace,
Which uttering thus he to his Father spake.

O Father, gracious was that word which clos'd
145 Thy sovran sentence, that Man should find grace ;
For which both Heav'n and Earth shall high extoll
Thy praises, with th' innumerable sound
Of Hymns and sacred Songs, wherewith thy Throne
Encompas'd shall resound thee ever blest.

150 For should Man finally be lost, should Man

F

Thy

118 their]] It is difficult to determine the metrical quantity of this word. 119 Which] The W is wrong font. 121 me]] Stressed. 143 he]] Stressed?

66 **Paradise Lost.** Book III.

Thy creature late so lov'd, thy youngest Son
 Fall circumvented thus by fraud, though joynd
 With his own folly ? that be from thee farr,
 That farr be from thee, Father, who art Judg
 155 Of all things made, and judgeth onely right.
 Or shall the Adversarie thus obtain
 His end, and frustrate thine, shall he fulfill
 His malice, and thy goodness bring to naught,
 Or proud return though to his heavier doom,
 160 Yet with revenge accomplish't and to Hell
 Draw after him the whole Race of mankind,
 By him corrupted ? or wilt thou thy self
 Abolish thy Creation, and unmake,
 For him, what for thy glorie thou hast made ?
 165 So should thy goodness and thy greatness both
 Be questiond and blasphem'd without defence.
 To whom the great Creatour thus reply'd.
 O Son, in whom my Soul hath chief delight,
 Son of my bosom, Son who art alone
 170 My word, my wisdom, and effectual might,
 All hast thou spok'n as my thoughts are, all
 As my Eternal purpose hath decreed :
 Man shall not quite be lost, but sav'd who will,
 Yet not of will in him, but grace in me
 175 Freely voutsaf't ; once more I will renew
 His lapsed powers, though forfeit and enthrall'd
 By sin to foul exorbitant desires ;
 Upheld by me, yet once more he shall stand
 On even ground against his mortal foe,
 180 By me upheld, that he may know how frail
 His fall'n condition is, and to me owe
 All his deliv'rance, and to none but me.
 Some I have chosen of peculiar grace
 Elect above the rest ; so is my will :

The

154 Judg] Judge 155 onely]] Stressed. 157 thine] The i is faint and the dot over it scarcely printed in any 1674 copy examined. he]] Stressed. 174 me]] Stressed.
 178 me,]] Stressed. 180 me]] Stressed. he]] Stressed. 181 His] In most copies examined the i failed to print and is practically indiscernible in others. 182 me.]] Stressed. 184 will:] Italic colon.

Book III. *Paradise Lost.* 67

- 185 The reit shall hear me call, and oft be warnd
 Thir sinful state, and to appease betimes
 Th' incensed Deitie, while offerd grace
 Invites ; for I will cleer thir senses dark,
 What may suffice, and soft'n stonie hearts
- 190 To pray, repent, and bring obedience due.
 To Prayer, repentance, and obedience due,
 Though but endevord with sincere intent,
 Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye not shut.
 And I will place within them as a guide
- 195 My Umpire *Conscience*, whom if they will hear,
 Light after light well us'd they shall attain,
 And to the end persisting, safe arrive.
 This my long sufferance and my day of grace
 They who neglect and scorn, shall never taste ;
- 200 But hard be hard'nd, blind be blinded more,
 That they may stumble on, and deeper fall ;
 And none but such from mercy I exclude.
 But yet all is not don ; Man disobeying,
 Disloyal breaks his fealtie, and sinns
- 205 Against the high Supremacie of Heav'n,
 Affeeting God-head, and so loosing all,
 To expiate his Treason hath naught left,
 But to destruction sacred and devote,
 He with his whole poiteritie must dye,
- 210 Dye hee or Justice must ; unless for him
 Som other able, and as willing, pay
 The rigid satisfaction, death for death.
 Say Heav'nly powers, where shall we find such love,
 Which of ye will be mortal to redeem
- 215 Mans mortal crime, and just th' unjust to save,
 Dwels in all Heaven charitie so deare ?
 He ask'd, but all the Heav'nly Quire stood mute,
 And silence was in Heav'n : on mans behalf

F 2

Patron

191 Prayer,] prayer, 193 ear] eare 195 My] The M is broken in all copies examined.
 209 He]] Stressed. dye,] die, 210 Dye] Die 213 powers,] Powers,

68 *Paradise Lost.* Book III.

Patron or Intercessor none appeerd,
 220 Much less that durst upon his own head draw
 The deadly forfeiture, and ransom set.
 And now without redemption all mankind
 Must have bin lost, adjudg'd to Death and Hell
 By doom severe, had not the Son of God,
 225 In whom the fulness dwels of love divine,
 His dearest mediation thus renewd.
 Father, thy word is past, man shall find grace ;
 And shall grace not find means, that finds her way,
 The speediest of thy winged messengers,
 230 To visit all thy creatures, and to all
 Comes unprevented, unimplor'd, unsought,
 Happie for man, so coming ; he her aide
 Can never seek, once dead in sins and lost ;
 Attonement for himself or offering meet,
 235 Indebted and undon, hath none to bring :
 Behold mee then, mee for him, life for life
 I offer, on mee let thine anger fall ;
 Account mee man ; I for his sake will leave
 Thy bosom, and this glorie next to thee
 240 Freely put off, and for him lastly dye
 Well pleas'd, on me let Death wreck all his rage ;
 Under his gloomie power I shall not long
 Lie vanquisht ; thou hast givn me to possess
 Life in my self for ever, by thee I live,
 245 Though now to Death I yield, and am his due
 All that of me can die, yet that debt paid,
 Thou wilt not leave me in the loathsom grave
 His prey, nor suffer my unspotted Soule
 For ever with corruption there to dwell ;
 250 But I shall rise Victorious, and subdue
 My vanquisher, spoild of his wanted spoile ;
 Death his deathis wound shall then receive, and stoop
 Ingloriouſ, of his mortall sting disarm'd. I

232 *he]]* Stressed. 240 *dye]* die 241 *me]]* Stressed. 245 *yield,]* yeild, 246 *me]]*
 Stressed. 249 *For]* The F is battered in all copies examined and is barely discernible in a few
 copies. 251 *vanquisher,]* Vanquisher, 252 *and]* & Catchword. I] This page, like page 254,
 contains thirty-five lines of type and the catchword is printed on, not below, the bottom line of text.

Book III. *Paradise Lost.* 69

- I through the ample Air in Triumph high
 255 Shall lead Hell Captive maugre Hell, and show
 The powers of darkness bound. Thou at the sight
 Pleas'd, out of Heaven shalt look down and smile,
 While by thee rais'd I ruin all my Foes,
 Death last, and with his Carcass glut the Grave :
 260 Then with the multitude of my redeemd
 Shall enter Heaven long absent, and returne,
 Father, to see thy face, wherein no cloud
 Of anger shall remain, but peace assur'd,
 And reconciliation ; wrauth shall be no more
 265 Thenceforth, but in thy presence Joy entire.
 His words here ended, but his meek aspect
 Silent yet spake, and breath'd immortal love
 To mortal men, above which only shon
 Filial obedience : as a sacrifice
 270 Glad to be offer'd, he attends the will
 Of his great Father. Admiration seis'd
 All Heav'n, what this might mean, and whither tend
 Wondring ; but soon th' Almighty thus reply'd :
 O thou in Heav'n and Earth the only peace
 275 Found out for mankind under wrauth, O thou
 My sole complacence ! well thou know'st how dear,
 To me are all my works, nor Man the least
 Though last created, that for him I spare
 Thee from my bosom and right hand, to save,
 280 By loosing thee a while, the whole Race lost.
 Thou therefore whom thou only canst redeem,
 Thir Nature also to thy Nature joyn ;
 And be thy self Man among men on Earth,
 Made flesh, when time shall be, of Virgin seed,
 285 By wondrous birth : Be thou in *Adams* room
 The Head of all mankind, though *Adams* Son.
 As in him perish all men, so in thee

F 3

As

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 263 shall] The first 1 is battered in all copies examined. 269 obedience:] Italic colon. 272 and] & 277 me]] Stressed.
 281 redeem,) redeeme, 282 joyn;) joyne;

70 *Paradise Lost.* Book III.

- As from a second root shall be restor'd,
 As many as are restor'd, without thee none.
 290 His crime makes guiltie all his Sons, thy merit
 Imputed shall absolve them who renounce
 Thir own both righteous and unrighteous deeds,
 And live in thee transplanted, and from thee
 Receive new life. So Man, as is most just,
 295 Shall satisfie for Man, be judg'd and die,
 And dying rise, and rising with him raise
 His Brethren, ransomd with his own dear life.
 So Heav'nly love shall outdo Hellish hate
 Giving to death, and dying to redeeme,
 300 So dearly to redeem what Hellish hate
 So easily destroy'd, and still destroyes
 In those who, when they may, accept not grace.
 Nor shalt thou by descending to assume
 Mans Nature, less'n or degrade thine owne.
 305 Because thou hast, though Thron'd in highest bliss
 Equal to God, and equally enjoying
 God-like fruition, quitted all to save
 A World from utter loss, and hast been found
 By Merit more then Birthright Son of God,
 310 Found worthiest to be so by being Good,
 Farr more then Great or High; because in thee
 Love hath abounded more then Glory abounds,
 Therefore thy Humiliation shall exalt
 With thee thy Manhood also to this Throne;
 315 Here shalt thou sit incarnate, here shalt Reign
 Both God and Man, Son both of God and Man,
 Anointed universal King; all Power
 I give thee, reign for ever, and assume
 Thy Merits; under thee as Head Supream
 320 Thrones, Prinedoms, Powers, Dominions I reduce:
 All knees to thee shall bow, of them that bide

In

298 shall] shal hate] hate, The comma seems to be needed. 314 Throne;]] The punctuation here in 1674 is a semicolon so badly worn that it looks like a comma in all copies examined; but in some copies a faint trace of the upper element shows. In some copies this element is more noticeable than in others, and in no copy examined is it entirely lacking. The 1678 edition set a comma here. See line 317. 315 Reign] Reigne 317 King;]] The same condition obtains here as in line 314. That is, from examination of a large number of copies, there can be no doubt that the punctuation in 1674 was a semicolon. It is equally true that no copy shows a clear semicolon, only the faintest trace of the upper element showing in any copy examined. A single copy can convince no one; but after examination of a large number, any observer will, no matter how reluctantly, be convinced that the mark was produced by a well-worn semicolon. Wright's treatment (1903) of these two lines is incomprehensible.

Book III. *Paradise Lost.* 71

- In Heaven, or Earth, or under Earth in Hell ;
 When thou attended gloriously from Heav'n
 Shalt in the Sky appear, and from thee send
 325 The summoning Arch-Angels to proclaime
 Thy dread Tribunal : forthwith from all Windes
 The living, and forthwith the cited dead
 Of all past Ages to the general Doom
 Shall hast'n, such a peal shall rouse thir sleep.
- 330 Then all thy Saints assembl'd, thou shalt judge
 Bad men and Angels, they arraignd shall sink
 Beneath thy Sentence ; Hell her numbers full,
 Thenceforth shall be for ever shut. Mean while
 The World shall burn, and from her ashes spring
- 335 New Heav'n and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell,
 And after all thir tribulations long
 See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds,
 With Joy and Love triumphing, and fair Truth.
 Then thou thy regal Scepter shalt lay by,
- 340 For regal Scepter then no more shall need,
 God shall be All in All. But all ye Gods,
 Adore him, who to compass all this dies,
 Adore the Son, and honour him as mee.
- No sooner had th' Almighty ceas't, but all
 345 The multitude of Angels with a shout
 Loud as from numbers without number, sweet
 As from blest voices, uttering joy, Heav'n rung
 With Jubilee, and loud Hosanna's fill'd
 Th' eternal Regions : lowly reverent'
- 350 Towards either Throne they bow, and to the ground
 With solemn adoration down they cast
 Thir Crowns inwove with Amarant and Gold,
 Immortal Amarant, a Flour which once
 In Paradise, fast by the Tree of Life
- 355 Began to bloom, but soon for mans offence

F 4

To

324 *Sky*] Skie 332 *Hell*] Hell, The comma seems to be needed. 334 *World*] The W is wrong font. 335 *dwell,*] dwell The comma was probably intentionally inserted in 1674, as in 1667 the word is dropped down into the next line and crowded against the rule. 340 *Scepter*] The S is italic. 344 *fooner*] The second o is very faint in all copies examined. 348 *fill'd*] fill'd 349 *reverent'*] The unnecessary apostrophe is probably foul case for space, see also Book 6:575, fell'd,) 350 *and*] &

72 *Paradise Lost.* Book III.

To Heav'n remov'd where first it grew, there grows,
 And flours aloft shading the Fount of Life,
 And where the river of Bliss through midst of Heavn
 Rowls o're *Elisian* Flours her Amber stream ;

360 With these that never fade the Spirits elect
 Bind thir resplendent locks inwreath'd with beams,
 Now in loose Garlands thick thrown off, the bright
 Pavement that like a Sea of Jasper shon
 Impurpl'd with Celestial Roses smil'd.

365 Then Crown'd again thir gold'n Harps they took,
 Harps ever tun'd, that glittering by thir side
 Like Quivers hung, and with Præamble sweet
 Of charming symphonie they introduce
 Thir sacred Song, and waken raptures high ;

370 No voice exempt, no voice but well could joine
 Melodious part, such concord is in Heav'n.

Thee Father first they sung Omnipotent,
 Immutable, Immortal, Infinite,
 Eternal King ; thee Author of all being,
 Fountain of Light, thy self invisible

375 Amidst the glorious brightness where thou sit'st
 Thron'd inaccessible, but when thou shad'st
 The full blaze of thy beams, and through a cloud
 Drawn round about thee like a radiant Shrine,

380 Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear,
 Yet dazzle Heav'n, that brightest Seraphim
 Approach not, but with both wings veil thir eyes.
 Thee next they sang of all Creation first,

Begotten Son, Divine Similitude,

385 In whose conspicuous count'nce, without cloud
 Made visible, th' Almighty Father shines,
 Whom else no Creature can behold ; on thee
 Impresst the effulgence of his Glorie abides,

Transfus'd on thee his ample Spirit rests.

Hee

Running Head. *Loft.*] The recurrent round period. 360 *elect*] Elect 366 *thir*] their
 Apparently unstressed.

Book III. *Paradise Lost.* 73

- 390 Hee Heav'n of Heavens and all the Powers therein
 By thee created, and by thee threw down
 Th' aspiring Dominations: thou that day
 Thy Fathers dreadful Thunder didst not spare,
 Nor stop thy flaming Chariot wheels, that shook
 395 Heav'ns everlasting Frame, while o're the necks
 Thou drov'st of warring Angels disarrayd.
 Back from pursuit thy Powers with loud acclaime
 Thee only extoll'd, Son of thy Fathers might,
 To execute fierce vengeance on his foes,
 400 Not so on Man; him through their malice fall'n,
 Father of Mercie and Grace, thou didst not doome
 So strictly, but much more to pitie encline:
 No sooner did thy dear and onely Son
 Perceive thee purpos'd not to doom frail Man
 405 So strictly, but much more to pitie enclin'd,
 He to appease thy wrauth, and end the strife
 Of Mercy and Justice in thy face discern'd,
 Regardless of the Bliss wherein hee sat
 Second to thee, offerd himself to die
 410 For mans offence. O unexampl'd love,
 Love no where to be found les than Divine!
 Hail Son of God, Saviour of Men, thy Name
 Shall be the copious matter of my Song
 Henceforth, and never shall my Harp thy praise
 415 Forget, nor from thy Fathers praise disjoine.
 Thus they in Heav'n, above the starry Sphear,
 Thir happie hours in joy and hymning spent.
 Mean while upon the firm opacous Globe
 Of this round World, whose first convex divides
 420 The luminous inferior Orbs, enclos'd
 From Chaos and th' inroad of Darkness old,
 Satan alighted walks: a Globe farr off
 It seem'd, now seems a boundless Continent

Dark,

398 *extoll'd*,] *extold*, 402 *encline*:]] There is little doubt in my mind that this word needs a final 'd' and that the spelling should be *enclin'd*: as in line 405. 403 *onely*]] Stressed.
 406 *He*]] This spelling, with a single e comes from 1667. The word, however, appears to be heavily stressed. 408 *hee*]] This spelling, with ee comes also from the 1667 text. There can be little doubt that the stressed form should have been in line 406, and that this word in this line, 408, should have been printed in the unstressed form. This pair of lines contains one of the best examples in the 1674 edition of how closely the compositor was following his copy, which was the 1667 text as emended by Milton through amanuenses, of course. The case here is obvious. If the e is to be doubled in line 408, it should be quadrupled in line 406.

74 **Paradise Lost.** Book III.

- Dark, waste, and wild, under the frown of Night
 425 Starless expos'd, and ever-threatening storms
 Of Chaos blustering round, inclement skie ;
 Save on that side which from the wall of Heav'n
 Though distant farr som small reflection gaines
 Of glimmering air less vext with tempest loud :
 430 Here walk'd the Fiend at large in spacious field.
 As when a Vultur on *Imaus* bred,
 Whose snowie ridge the roving *Tartar* bounds,
 Dislodging from a Region scarce of prey
 To gorge the flesh of Lambs or yeanling Kids
 435 On Hills where Flocks are fed, flies toward the Springs
 Of *Ganges* or *Hydaspes*, Indian streams ;
 But in his way lights on the barren Plaines
 Of *Sericana*, where *Chineses* drive
 With Sails and Wind thir canie Waggons light :
 440 So on this windie Sea of Land, the Fiend
 Walk'd up and down alone bent on his prey,
 Alone, for other Creature in this place
 Living or liveles to be found was none,
 None yet, but stote hereafter from the earth
 445 Up hither like Aereal vapours flew
 Of all things transitorie and vain, when Sin
 With vanity had fill'd the works of men :
 Both all things vain, and all who in vain things
 Built thir fond hopes of Glorie or lasting fame,
 450 Or happiness in this or th' other life ;
 All who have thir reward on Earth, the fruits
 Of painful Superstition and blind Zeal,
 Naught seeking but the praise of men, here find
 Fit retribution, emptie as thir deeds ;
 455 All th' unaccomplisht works of Natures hand,
 Abortive, monstrous, or unkindly mixt,
 Dissolv'd on Earth, fleet hither, and in vain,

Till

Running Head. Loft.] The recurrent round period. 435 fed,flies] No space in any copy examined. 437 Plaines] plaines 440 on] The o is broken in all copies examined. 443 Living] The first i is broken in all copies examined. 457 Earth,] earth,

Book III. *Paradise Lost.* 75

- Till final dissolution, wander here,
Not in the neighbouring Moon, as some have dreamd;
460 Those agent Fields more likely habitants,
Translated Saints, or middle Spirits hold
Betwixt th' Angelical and Human kinde :
Hither of ill-joynd Sons and Daughters born
First from the ancient World those Giants came
465 With many a vain exploit, though then renouwd :
The builders next of *Babel* on the Plain
Of *Sennaar*, and still with vain designe
New *Babes*, had they wherewithall, would build :
Others came single ; he who to be deemd
470 A God, leap'd fondly into *Aetna* flames,
Empedocles, and hee who to enjoy
Plato's Elysium, leap'd into the Sea,
Cleombrotus, and many more too long,
Embryo's and Idiots, Eremitis and Friers
475 White, Black and Grey, with all thir trumperie.
Here Pilgrims roam, that stray'd so farr to seek
In *Golgotha* him dead, who lives in Heav'n ;
And they who to be sure of Paradise
Dying put on the weeds of *Dominic*,
480 Or in *Franciscan* think to pass disguis'd ;
They pass the Planets seven, and pass the fixt,
And that Crystalline Sphear whose ballance weighs
The Trepidation talkt, and that firſt mov'd ;
And now Saint *Peter* at Heav'n's Wicket seems
485 To wait them with his Keys, and now at foot
Of Heav'n's ascent they lift thir Feet, when loe
A violent croſs wind from either Coast
Blows them transverſe ten thousand Leagues awry
Into the devious Air ; then might ye ſee
490 Cowles, Hoods and Habits with thir wearers toſt
And flutterd into Raggs, then Reliques, Beads,

In-

468 *Babes*,]] The recurrent smashed comma of 1674. 469 *hee*] *hee* Stressed? 471 *hee*]] Here the stressed form is used as in 1667. It is almost certain that the same stressed form should have been used in line 469 as here, and as 1667 had printed them, for the construction is the same in both lines. 472 *Plato's*]] The *s* is roman.

76 **Paradise Lost.** Book. III.

- Indulgences, Dispenses, Pardons, Bulls,
 The sport of Winds: all these upwhirld aloft
 Fly o're the backside of the World farr off
 495 Into a Limbo large and broad, since call'd
 The Paradise of Fools, to few unknown
 Long after, now unpeopl'd, and untrod ;
 All this dark Globe the Fiend found as he pass'd,
 And long he wanderd, till at last a gleame
 500 Of dawning light turnd thither-ward in haste
 His travell'd steps ; farr distant he descries
 Ascending by degrees magnificent
 Up to the wall of Heaven a Structure high,
 At top whereof, but farr more rich appeerd
 505 The work as of a Kingly Palace Gate
 With Frontispice of Diamond and Gold
 Imbellisht, thick with sparkling orient Gemmes
 The Portal shon, inimitable on Earth
 By Model, or by shading Pencil drawn.
 510 The Stairs were such as whereon Jacob saw
 Angels ascending and descending, bands
 Of Guardians bright, when he from Esau fled
 To Padan-Aram in the field of Luz,
 Dreaming by night under the open Skie,
 515 And waking cri'd, *This is the Gate of Heav'n*
 Each Stair mysteriously was meant, nor stood
 There alwayes, but drawn up to Heav'n somtimes
 Viewles, and underneath a bright Sea flow'd
 Of Jasper, or of liquid Pearle, whereon
 520 Who after came from Earth, sayling arriv'd,
 Wafted by Angels, or flew o're the Lake
 Rapt in a Chariot drawn by fiery Steeds.
 The Stairs were then let down, whether to dare
 The Fiend by easie ascent, or aggravate
 525 His sad exclusion from the dores of Blis.

Direct

Running Head. Book.] Note the occasional, unneeded period. 497 Long] The g is battered in all copies examined. untrod;]] The top element of the semicolon is broken in all 1674 copies examined. 501 he] hee Stressed? 515 *This is the Gate of Heav'n*] This is the Gate of Heav'n. 517 alwayes,] alwaies,

Book III. *Paradise Lost.* 77

- Direct against which op'd from beneath,
 Just o're the blissful seat of Paradise,
 A passage down to th' Earth, a passage wide,
 Wider by farr then that of after-times
 530 Over Mount *Sion*, and, though that were large,
 Over the *Promis'd Land* to God so dear,
 By which, to visit oft those happy Tribes,
 On high behests his Angels to and fro
 Pass'd frequent, and his eye with choice regard
 535 From *Paneas* the fount of *Jordans* flood
 To *Beersaba*, where the *Holy Land*
 Borders on *Ægypt* and the *Arabian* shoare ;
 So wide the op'ning seemd, where bounds were set
 To darkness, such as bound the Ocean wave.
 540 *Satan* from hence now on the lower stair
 That scal'd by steps of Gold to Heav'n Gate
 Looks down with wonder at the sudden view
 Of all this World at once. As when a Scout
 Through dark and desart wayes with peril gone
 545 All night ; at last by break of chearful dawne
 Obtains the brow of some high-climbing Hill,
 Which to his eye discovers unaware
 The goodly prospect of some forein land
 First-seen, or some renown'd Metropolis
 550 With glistening Spires and Pinnacles adornd,
 Which now the Rising Sun guilds with his beams.
 Such wonder seis'd, though after Heaven seen,
 The Spirit maligne, but much more envy seis'd
 At sight of all this World beheld so faire.
 555 Round he surveys, and well might, where he stood
 So high above the circling Canopie
 Of Nights extended shade ; from Eastern Point
 Of *Libra* to the fleecie Starr that bears
Andromeda farr off *Atlantic* Seas

Beyond

Page Number. 77] The first 7 is battered in all copies examined. 536 *Beersaba,*] *Bëersaba,*
 549 renown'd] renownd 559 *Atlantic*] *Atlantick*

78 *Paradise Lost.* Book III.

- 560 Beyond th' *Horizon*; then from Pole to Pole
 He views in breadth, and without longer pause
 Down right into the Worlds first Region throws
 His flight precipitant, and windes with ease
 Through the pure marble Air his oblique way
 565 Amongst innumerable Starrs, that shon
 Stars distant, but nigh hand seemd other Worlds,
 Or other Worlds they seemd, or happy Iles,
 Like those *Hesperian* Gardens fam'd of old,
 Fortunate Fields, and Groves and flourie Vales,
 570 Thrice happy Iles, but who dwelt happy there
 He stayd not to enquire: above them all
 The golden Sun in splendor likest Heaven
 Allur'd his eye: Thither his course he bends
 Through the calm Firmament; but up or downe
 575 By center, or eccentric, hard to tell,
 Or Longitude, where the great Luminarie
 Alooff the vulgar Constellations thick,
 That from his Lordly eye keep distance due,
 Dispenses Light from farr; they as they move
 580 Thir Starry dance in numbers that compute
 Days, months, & years, towards his all-clearing Lamp
 Turn swift thir various motions, or are turnd
 By his Magnetic beam, that gently warms
 The Univers, and to each inward part
 585 With gentle penetration, though unseen,
 Shoots inv isible vertue even to the deep:
 So wondrously was set his Station bright.
 There lands the Fiend, a spot like which perhaps
 Astronomer in the Sun's lucent Orbe
 590 Through his glaz'd Optic Tube yet never saw.
 The place he found beyond expression bright,
 Compar'd with aught on Earth, Medal or Stone;
 Not all parts like, but all alike informd

With

580 Starry] Sarry 581 &] and 582 thir] their Unstressed. 586 inv isible] So spaced in all
 1674 copies examined.

Book III. *Paradise Lost.* 79

With radiant light, as glowing Iron with fire;
 595 If metal, part seemd Gold, part Silver clearer,
 If stone, Carbuncle most or Chrysolite,
 Rubie or Topaz, to the Twelve that shon
 In *Aarons* Brest-plate, and a stone besides
 Imagind rather oft then elsewhere seen,
 600 That stone, or like to that which here below
 Philosophers in vain so long have sought,
 In vain, though by thir powerful Art they binde
 Volatil *Hermes*, and call up unbound
 In various shapes old *Proteus* from the Sea,
 605 Draind through a Limbec to his Native forme.
 What wonder then if fields and regions here
 Breathe forth *Elixir* pure, and Rivers run
 Potable Gold, when with one vertuous touch
 Th' Arch-chimic Sun so farr from us remote
 610 Produces with Terrestrial Humor mixt
 Here in the dark so many precious things
 Of colour glorious and effect so rare?
 Here matter new to gaze the Devil met
 Undazl'd, farr and wide his eye commands,
 615 For sight no obftacle found here, nor shade,
 But all Sun-shine, as when his Beams at Noon
 Culminate from th' *Aequator*, as they now
 Shot upward still direct, whence no way round
 Shadow from body opaque can fall, and the Aire,
 620 No where so clear, sharp'd his visual ray
 To objects distant farr, whereby he soon
 Saw within kenn a glorious Angel stand,
 The same whom *John* saw also in the Sun:
 His back was turnd, but not his brightness hid;
 625 Of beaming sunnie Raies, a golden tiar
 Circl'd his Head, nor less his Locks behind
 Illustrious on his Shoulders fledge with wings

Lay

594 With] Which With is correct. 602 binde] The final e is wrong font. It was not reset in any copy examined.

80 *Paradise Lost.* Book III.

Lay waving round ; on som great charge employ'd
He seemd, or fixt in cogitation deep.

630 Glad was the Spirit impure as now in hope
To find who might direct his wandring flight
To Paradise the happie seat of Man,

His journies end and our beginning woe.

But first he casts to change his proper shape,

635 Which else might work him danger or delay :
And now a stripling Cherube he appeers,

Not of the prime, yet such as in his face

Youth smil'd Celestial, and to every Limb

Sutable grace diffus'd, so well he feignd ;

640 Under a Coronet his flowing haire

In curles on either cheek plaide, wings he wore

Of many a colourd plume sprinkl'd with Gold,

His habit fit for speed succinct, and held

Before his decent steps a Silver wand.

645 He drew not nigh unheard, the Angel bright,
Ere he drew nigh, his radiant visage turnd,

Admonisht by his ear, and strait was known

Th' Arch-Angel *Uriel*, one of the seav'n

Who in Gods presence, neerest to his Throne

650 Stand ready at command, and are his Eyes

That run through all the Heav'ns, or down to th' Earth

Bear his swift errands over moist and dry,

O're Sea and Land : him *Satan* thus accostes :

Uriel, for thou of those seav'n Spirits that stand

655 In sight of God's high Throne, gloriously bright,

The first art wont his great authentic will

Interpreter through highest Heav'n to bring,

Where all his Sons thy Embassie attend ;

And here art likeliest by supream decree

660 Like honour to obtain, and as his Eye

To visit oft this new Creation round ;

Un-

629 He] Hee Is this word stressed? 630 impure] impure\impure; 1674 agrees with 1667 state 1 only. There should be a semicolon here, as in 1667 state 2. See also lines 653 and 655.

647 ear,] eare, 651 Heav'ns,or] No space, but the line is long.

653 accoftes;) accoftes;\accoftes. Again, 1674 is from state 1 of 1667. The punctuation should be a period, as in 1667 state 2. 655 God's] God's\Gods Once more this is state 1 of 1667, and should be 'Gods' as in 1667 state 2. See my volume 2:320-321. This page in 1674 was set from a 1667 copy having the recto of Signature L in state 1.

Book III. *Paradise Lost.* 81

- Unspeakable desire to see, and know
 All these his wondrous works, but chiefly Man,
 His chief delight and favour, him for whom
 665 All these his works so wondrous he ordaind,
 Hath brought me from the Quires of Cherubim
 Alone thus wandring. Brightest Seraph tell
 In which of all these shining Orbes hath Man
 His fixed seat, or fixed seat hath none,
 670 But all these shining Orbes his choice to dwell ;
 That I may find him, and with secret gaze,
 Or open admiration him behold
 On whom the great Creator hath bestowd
 Worlds, and on whom hath all these graces powrd ;
 675 That both in him and all things, as is meet,
 The Universal Maker we may praise ;
 Who justly hath drvn out his Rebell Foes
 To deepest Hell, and to repair that loss
 Created this new happie Race of Men
 680 To serve him better : wise are all his wayes.
 So spake the false dissembler unperceivd ;
 For neither Man nor Angel can discern
 Hypocrisie, the onely evil that walks
 Invisible, except to God alone,
 685 By his permissive will, through Heav'n and Earth :
 And oft though wisdom wake, suspicion sleeps
 At wisdoms Gate, and to simplicitie
 Resigns her charge, while goodness thinks no ill
 Where no ill seems : Which now for once beguil'd
 690 Uriel, though Regent of the Sun, and held
 The sharpest sighted Spirit of all in Heav'n ;
 Who to the fraudulent Impostor foule
 In his uprightness answer thus retrnd.
 Fair Angel, thy desire which tends to know
 695 The works of God, thereby to glorifie

G

The

679 Race] race\Race 1674 agrees with state 2 of the verso of the L Signature of 1667.

683 Hypocrisie,] Hipocrisie,\Hypocrisie, 1674 agrees with state 2 of 1667. onely] only

690 Regent] regent\Regent 1674 agrees with state 2 of 1667. Sun, and] Sun, and \Sun, and

See my volume 2:322-325 for these readings. 694 Fair] Faire

82 **Paradise Lost.** Book III.

The great Work-Maister, leads to no excess
 That reaches blame, but rather merits praise
 The more it seems excess, that led thee hither
 From thy Empyreal Mansion thus alone,
 700 To witness with thine eyes what some perhaps
 Contented with report hear onely in heav'n :
 For wonderful indeed are all his works,
 Pleasant to know, and worthiest to be all
 Had in remembrance alwayes with delight ;
 705 But what created mind can comprehend
 Thir number, or the wisdom infinite
 That brought them forth, but hid thir causes deep.
 I saw when at his Word the formless Mass,
 This worlds material mould, came to a heap :
 710 *Confusion* heard his voice, and wilde uproar
 Stood rul'd, stood vast infinitude confin'd ;
 Till at his second bidding darkness fled,
 Light shon, and order from disorder sprung :
 Swift to thir several Quarters hasted then
 715 The cumbrous Elements, Earth, Flood, Aire, Fire,
 And this Ethereal quintessence of Heav'n
 Flew upward, spirited with various forms,
 That rowld orbicular, and turnd to Starrs
 Numberless, as thou seeft, and how they move ;
 720 Each had his place appointed, each his course,
 The rest in circuit walles this Universe.
 Look downward on that Globe whose hither side
 With light from hence, though but reflected, shines ;
 That place is Earth the seat of Man, that light
 725 His day, which else as th' other Hemisphere
 Night would invade, but there the neighbouring Moon
 (So call that opposite fair Starr) her aide
 Timely interposes, and her monthly round
 Still ending, still renewing, through mid Heav'n ;
 With

701 *hear*] *heare* *heav'n:*] Italic colon. 710 *Confusion*] Confusion 725 *invade, but*] No space, but the line is long. 729 *renewing,*] *renewing,\renewing* 1674 is from state 1 of 1667, and apparently no comma was wanted here. *Heav'n;*] *Heav'n;\Heav'n,* Again, this is from state 1 of 1667, and should read with a comma, as in state 2. See my volume 2:326-327.

Book III. *Paradise Lost.* 83

- 730 With borrowd light her countenance triforū
Hence fills and empties to enlighten th' Earth,
And in her pale dominion checks the night.
That spot to which I point is *Paradise*,
Adams abode, those loftie shades his Bowre.
- 735 Thy way thou canst not miss, me mine requires.
Thus said, he turnd, and *Satan* bowing low,
As to superior Spirits is wont in Heaven,
Where honour due and reverence none neglects,
Took leave, and toward the coast of Earth beneath,
- 740 Down from th' Ecliptic, sped with hop'd success,
Throws his steep flight in many an Aeric wheele,
Nor staid, till on *Niphates* top he lights.
-

The End of the Third Book.

G 2 Paradise

731 th' Earth,] th' Earth,\the Earth, 1674 is from state 1 of 1667. Apparently Milton wanted a different stress here, as the final state of 1667 reads 'the Earth,' 737 Heaven,] Heaven,\Heav'n, Again, 1674 is from state 1 of 1667, the final state of which is 'Heav'n,' 741 in] with\in The 1668 *Errata* call for in which fact explains why, although using the earlier state of 1667 here, the word is changed, although the other features of 1667 state 1 are retained.
an Aerie] anAerie\an Aerie Catchword. *Paradise*] PARA-

84

Paradise Lost.

BOOK IV.

THE ARGUMENT.

Satan now in prospect of Eden, and nigh the place where
he must now attempt the bold enterprize which he un-
dertook alone against God and Man, falls into many
doubts with himself, and many passions, fear, envy,
and desp're; but at length confirms himself in evil,
5 journeys on to Paradise, whose outward prospect and
scituation is described, overleaps the bounds, sits in
the shape of a Cormorant on the Tree of life, as bigh-
est in the Garden to look about him. The Garden de-
scrib'd; Satans first sight of Adam and Eve; his
10 wonder at thir excellent form and happy state, but
with resolution to work thir fall; overhears thir dis-
course, thence gathers that the Tree of knowledge
was forbidden them to eat of, under penalty of death;
15 and thereon intends to found his Temptation, by se-
ducing them to transgress: then leaves them a
while, to know further of thir state by some other
means. Meanwhile Uriel descending on a Sun-beam
warns Gabriel, who had in charge the Gate of Para-
dise,

Title. Paradise Lost.] PARADISE/ LOST. In 1674 the first a is the one with the nicks in the vertical stroke. The rules are composite, not solid.

THE ARGUMENT. The collation of the Argument only, in order, is 1674, 1668, and 1669.
1 Satan] SATan]] 5 desp're;]] desp're, 7 describ'd,] describ'd,]] 9 The] The] The
12 to]] te 14 forbidden]] forbidden 15 Temptation,] temptation,]]
16 transgress:] transgress:]]

Book IV. Paradise Lost. 85

20 *dise, that some evil spirit had escap'd the Deep, and past at Noon by his Sphere in the shape of a good Angel down to Paradise, discovered after by his furious gestures in the Mount.* Gabriel promises to find him ere morning. Night coming on, Adam and Eve, 25 *discourse of going to thir rest : thir Bower describ'd; thir Evening worship.* Gabriel drawing forth his Bands of Night-watch to walk the round of Paradise, appoints two strong Angels to Adams Bower, least the evill spirit should be there doing some harm to 30 Adam or Eve sleeping ; there they find him at the ear of Eve, tempting her in a dream, and bring him, though unwilling, to Gabriel ; by whom question'd, he scornfully answers, prepares resistance, but hinder'd by a Sign from Heaven, flies out of Paradise.

O For that warning voice, which he who saw
Th' *Apocalyps*, heard cry in Heaven aloud,
Then when the Dragon, put to second rout,
Came furious down to be reveng'd on men,
5 *Wo to the inhabitants on Earth !* that now,
While time was, our first-Parents had bin warnd
The coming of thir secret foe, and scap'd
Haply so scap'd his mortal snare ; for now
Satan, now first inflam'd with rage, came down,
10 The Tempter ere th' Accuser of man-kind,
To wreck on innocent frail man his loss
Of that first Battel, and his flight to Hell :
Yet not rejoicing in his speed, though bold,
Far off and fearless, nor with cause to boast,
15 Begins his dire attempt, which nigh the birth
Now rowling, boiles in his tumultuous brest,
And like a devillish Engine back recoiles
Upon himself ; horror and doubt distract

G 3

His

Page Number. 85] The 8 is battered in all copies examined.

THE ARGUMENT. The collation of the Argument only is 1674, 1668, and 1669.
23 *find him]* *find him out]]* 24 *Eve,]* *Eve]]* 25 *rest:] rest:]]* 29 *evill]]* *evil*
30 *him,]] him* 32 *question'd,]* The *ft* ligature is very faint in all copies examined.

THE TEXT. 6 *first-Parents]* *first Parents*

86 *Paradise Lost.* Book IV.

His troubl'd thoughts, and from the bottom stirr
 20 The Hell within him, for within him Hell
 He brings, and round about him, nor from Hell
 One step no more then from himself can fly
 By change of place : Now conscience wakes despair
 That slumberd, wakes the bitter memorie
 25 Of what he was, what is, and what must be
 Worse ; of worse deeds worse sufferings must ensue.
 Sometimes towards *Eden* which now in his view
 Lay pleasant, his grievd look he fixes sad,
 Sometimes towards Heav'n and the full-blazing Sun,
 30 Which now sat high in his Meridian Towre :
 Then much revolving, thus in sighs began.
 O thou that with surpassing Glory crownd,
 Look'st from thy sole Dominion like the God
 Of this new World ; at whose sight all the Starrs
 35 Hide thir diminisht heads ; to thee I call,
 But with no friendly voice, and add thy name
 O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams
 That bring to my remembrance from what state
 I fell, how glorious once above thy Spheare ;
 40 Till Pride and worse Ambition threw me down
 Warring in Heav'n against Heav'n's matchless King :
 Ah wherefore ! he deservd no such return
 From me, whom he created what I was
 In that bright eminence, and with his good
 45 Upbraided none ; nor was his service hard.
 What could be less then to afford him praise,
 The easiest recompence, and pay him thanks,
 How due ! yet all his good prov'd ill in me,
 And wrought but malice ; lifted up so high
 50 I fdeind subjection, and thought one step higher
 Would set me highest, and in a moment quit
 The debt immense of endless gratitude,

So

19 From] The r is out of alignment. 43 me,]] Stressed. he]] Stressed. 48 me,]] Stressed? 51 Would] The W is wrong font. 52 immense] immence\immense State 1 of 1667 reads 'immence' but state 2 reads 'immense'

Book IV. *Paradise Lost.* 87

So burthensome still paying, still to ow;
 Forgetful what from him I still receivd,
 55 And understood not that a grateful mind
 By owing owes not, but still pays, at once
 Indebted and dischargd; what burden then?
 O had his powerful Destiny ordain'd
 Me some inferiour Angel, I had stood
 60 Then happie; no unbounded hope had rais'd
 Ambition. Yet why not? som other Power
 As great might have aspir'd, and me though mean
 Drawn to his part; but other Powers as great
 Fell not, but stand unshak'n, from within
 65 Or from without, to all temptations arm'd.
 Hadst thou the same free Will and Power to stand?
 Thou hadst: whom hast thou then or what to accuse,
 But Heav'ns free Love dealt equally to all?
 Be then his Love accurst, since love or hate,
 70 To me alike, it deals eternal woe.
 Nay curs'd be thou; since against his thy will
 Chose freely what it now so justly rues.
 Me miserable! which way shall I flie
 Infinite wrauth, and infinite despaire?
 75 Which way I flie is Hell; my self am Hell;
 And in the lowest deep a lower deep
 Still threatening to devour me opens wide,
 To which the Hell I suffer seems a Heav'n.
 O then at last relent: is there no place
 80 Left for Repentance, none for Pardon left?
 None left but by submission; and that word
 Disdain forbids me, and my dread of shame
 Among the spirits beneath, whom I seduc'd
 With other promises and other vaunts
 85 Then to submit, boasting I could subdue
 Th' Omnipotent. Ay me, they little know

G 4

How

Page Number. 87] The bottom of the 7 is smashed in all copies examined.

53 *burthensome*] burthensome, I think the comma is needed. 65 *Or*] The O is faint in most copies examined.67 *hadst:*] Italic colon. 75 *Which*] The W is wrong font.83 *spirits*] spirits\Spirits 1674 agrees with state 1 of 1667 which reads 'spirits' but state 2 reads 'Spirits'

88 *Paradise Lost.* Book IV.

- How dearly I abide that boast so vaine,
 Under what torments inwardly I groane ;
 While they adore me on the Throne of Hell,
 90 With Diadem and Scepter high advanc'd
 The lower still I fall, onely Supream
 In miserie ; such joy Ambition findes.
 But say I could repent and could obtaine
 By Act of Grace my former state ; how soon
 95 Would higth recal high thoughts, how soon unsay
 What feign'd submission swore : ease would recant
 Vows made in pain, as violent and void.
 For never can true reconcilement grow
 Where wounds of deadly hate have peirc'd so deep :
 100 Which would but lead me to a worse relapse
 And heavier fall : so should I purchase deare
 Short intermission bought with double smart.
 This knows my punisher ; therefore as farr
 From granting hee, as I from begging peace :
 105 All hope excluded thus, behold in stead
 Of us out-cast, exil'd, his new delight,
 Mankind created, and for him this World.
 So farwel Hope, and with Hope farwel Fear,
 Farwel Remorse : all Good to me is lost ;
 110 Evil be thou my Good ; by thee at least
 Divided Empire with Heav'n's King I hold
 By thee, and more then half perhaps will reigne ;
 As Man ere long, and this new World shall know.
 Thus while he spake, each passion dimm'd his face
 115 Thrice chang'd with pale, ire, envie and despair,
 Which marrd his borrow'd visage, and betrayd
 Him counterfet, if any eye beheld.
 For heav'ly mindes from such distempers foule
 Are ever clearer. Whereof hee soon aware,
 120 Each perturbation smooth'd with outward calme,

Artifi-

88 groane;] groane;\groane: 1674 agrees with state 1 of 1667, but state 2 has a colon.

90 advanc'd] advanc'd\advanc't 1674 agrees with state 1 of 1667, but state 2 reads 'advanc't'

91 Supream] Supream\Supream Again, the capital is from state 1 of 1667, state 2 having lower case 'f' 95 highth] highth The 1674 printing is an error. 100 relapſe] relapſe\relapſe, State 1 of 1667 carries no comma here; but state 2 has a comma, and it should be printed here.

104 peace:] Italic colon. 114 p affion] So spaced in all copies examined.

Book IV. *Paradise Lost.* 89

- Artificer of fraud ; and was the first
 That practis'd falsehood under saintly shew,
 Deep malice to conceale, couch't with revenge :
 Yet not anough had practis'd to deceive
 125 *Uriel* once warnd ; whose eye pursu'd him down
 The way he went, and on th' *Affyrian* mount
 Saw him disfigur'd, more then could befall
 Spirit of happie sort : his gestures fierce
 He markd and mad demeanour, then alone,
 130 As he suppos'd, all unobserv'd, unseen.
 So on he fares, and to the border comes,
 Of *Eden*, where delicious Paradise,
 Now nearer, Crowns with her enclosure green,
 As with a rural mound the champain head
 135 Of a steep wildernes, whose hairie sides
 With thicker overgrown, grottesque and wilde,
 Access deni'd ; and over head up grew
 Insuperable highth of loftiest shade,
 Cedar, and Pine, and Firr, and branching Palm,
 140 A Silvan Scene, and as the ranks ascend
 Shade above shade, a woodie Theatre
 Of stateliest view. Yet higher then thir tops
 The verdurous wall of paradise up sprung :
 Which to our general Sire gave prospect large
 145 Into his neather Empire neighbouring round.
 And higher then that Wall a circling row
 Of goodliest Trees loaden with fairest Fruit,
 Blossoms and Fruits at once of golden hue
 Appeerd, with gay enameld colours mixt :
 150 On which the Sun more glad impress'd his beams
 Then in fair Evening Cloud, or humid Bow,
 When God hath showrd the earth ; so lovely seemd
 That Lantskip : And of pure now purer aire
 Meets his approach, and to the heart inspires

Vernal

Running Head. The period is broken after IV. 131 comes,] comes The comma seems unwanted. 136 grottesque] grottesque The word was probably unknown to the compositor. 137 deni'd;]] The punctuation is a battered semicolon, the top element of which is faint in most 1674 copies examined. 142 stateliest] The second t is faint in all copies examined. 143 paradise] Paradise Usually capitalized. sprung:] Italic colon. Catchword. Vernal] The n is out of alignment.

90 *Paradise Lost.* Book IV.

- 155 Vernal delight and joy, able to drive
 All sadness but despair: now gentle gales
 Fanning thir odoriferous wings dispense
 Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
 Those balmie spoiles. As when to them who saile
 160 Beyond the *Cape of Hope*, and now are past
Mozambic, off at Sea North-East windes blow
Sabean Odours from the spicie shoare
 Of *Arabie* the blest, with such delay
 Well pleas'd they slack thir course, and many a League
 165 Clear'd with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles.
 So entertaind those odorous sweets the Fiend
 Who came thir bane, though with them better pleas'd
 Then *Asmodeus* with the fishie fume,
 That drove him, though enamourd, from the Spouse
 170 Of *Tobits Son*, and with a vengeance sent
 From *Media* post to *Ægypt*, there fast bound.
 Now to th' ascent of that steep savage Hill
Satan had journied on, pensive and slow;
 But further way found none, so thick entwin'd,
 175 As one continu'd brake, the undergrowth
 Of shrubs and tangling bushes had perplext
 All path of Man or Beast that past that way:
 One Gate there only was, and that look'd East
 On th' other side: which when th' arch-fellon saw
 180 Due entrance he disdaind, and in contempt,
 At one slight bound high over leap'd all bound
 Of Hill or highest Wall, and sheer within
 Lights on his feet. As when a prowling Wolfe,
 Whom hunger drives to seek new haunt for prey,
 185 Watching where Shepherds pen thir Flocks at eve
 In hurdl'd Cotes amid the field secure,
 Leaps o're the fence with ease into the Fould:
 Or as a Thief bent to unhoord the cash

O

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 165 *Cheat'd*] Cheard 178 only] onely
 180 *he]]* Stressed. 181 *over leap'd*] overleap'd 182 *Of]* The O is wrong font.
 Catchword. O] The first word beginning the next page is 'Of'

Book IV. *Paradise Lost.* 91

- 190 Of some rich Burgher, whose substantial dores,
Cross-barrd and bolted fast, fear no assault,
In at the window climbs, or o're the tiles ;
So climb this first grand Thief into Gods Fould :
So since into his Church lewd Hirelings climbe.
Thence up he flew, and on the Tree of Life
195 The middle Tree and highest there that grew,
Sat like a Cormorant ; yet not true Life
Thereby regaind, but sat devising Death
To them who liv'd ; nor on the vertue thought
Of that life-giving Plant, but only us'd
200 For prospe&t, what well us'd had bin the pledge
Of immortality. So little knows
Any, but God alone, to value right
The good before him, but perverts best things
To worst abuse, or to thir meanest use.
205 Beneath him with new wonder now he views
To all delight of human sense expos'd
In narrow room Natures whole wealth, yea more,
A Heav'n on Earth, for blissful Paradise
Of God the Garden was, by him in the East
210 Of *Eden* planted ; *Eden* stretchd her Line
From *Auran* Eastward to the Royal Towns
Of great *Selencia*, built by *Grecian* Kings,
Or where the Sons of *Eden* long before
Dwelt in *Telassar* : in this pleasant soile
215 His farr more pleasant Garden God ordaind ;
Out of the fertil ground he caus'd to grow
All Trees of noblest kind for sight, smell, taste ;
And all amid them stood the Tree of Life,
High eminent, blooming Ambrosial Fruit
220 Of vegetable Gold ; and next to Life
Our Death the Tree of knowledge grew fast by,
Knowledge of Good bought dear by knowing ill.

South-

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent battered period. 191 climbs,] climbs, 194 Life] Life,
The comma is needed here, and was perhaps omitted by the 1674 compositor looking at the end
of line 196 as he set 194. 201 immortality.] immortalitie. 208 Earth,] Earth: 210 stretchd]
The d is battered in all copies examined. 221 knowledge] Knowledge

92 *Paradise Lost.* Book IV.

Southward through *Eden* went a River large,
 Nor chang'd his course, but through the shaggie hill
 225 Pass'd underneath ingulst, for God had thrown
 That Mountain as his *Garden* mould high rais'd
 Upon the rapid current, which through veins
 Of porous Earth with kindly thirst up drawn,
 Rose a fresh Fountain, and with many a rill
 230 Waterd the *Garden*; thence united fell
 Down the steep glade, and met the neather Flood,
 Which from his darksom passage now appeers,
 And now divided into four main Streams,
 Runs divers, wandring many a famous Realme
 235 And Country whereof here needs no account,
 But rather to tell how, if Art could tell,
 How from that *Saphire Fount* the crisped Brooks,
 Rowling on Orient Pearl and sands of Gold,
 VVith mazie error under pendant shades
 240 Ran Nectar, visiting each plant, and fed
 Flours worthy of *Paradise* which not nice Art
 In Beds and curious Knots, but Nature boon
 Powrd forth profuse on Hill and Dale and Plaine,
 Both where the morning Sun first warmly smote
 245 The open field, and where the unpierc't shade
 Imbound the noontide Bowrs: Thus was this place,
 A happy rural seat of various view; (Balme,
 Groves whose rich Trees wept odorous Gumms and
 Others whose fruit burnisht with Golden Rinde
 250 Hung amiable, *Hesperian* Fables true,
 If true, here only, and of delicious taste:
 Betwixt them Lawns, or level Downs, and Flocks
 Grasing the tender herb, were interpos'd,
 Or palmie hilloc, or the flourie lap
 255 Of som irriguous Valley spred her store,
 Flours of all hue, and without Thorn the Rose:

Another

248 *odorous*] The recurrent faint s. 249 *wish*] The t is italic. 250 *Hesperian*] The a is in-
 discernible in many copies examined. 251 *only,*] onely, *taste:*] The colon is italic.
 255 *spred*] spread

Book IV. *Paradise Lost.* 93

- Another side, umbrageous Grots and Caves
 Of coole recefs, o're which the mantling vine
 Layes forth her purple Grape, and gently creeps
 260 Luxuriant ; mean while murmuring waters fall
 Down the slope hills, disperst, or in a Lake,
 That to the fringed Bank with Myrtle crownd,
 Her chrystral mirror holds, unite thir streams.
 The Birds thir quire apply ; aires, vernal aires,
 265 Breathing the smell of field and grove, attune
 The trembling leaves, while Universal *Pan*
 Knit with the *Graces* and the *Hours* in dance
 Led on th' Eternal Spring. Not that faire field
 Of *Enna*, where *Proserpin* gathering flours
 270 Her self a fairer Floure by gloomie *Dis*
 Was gatherd, which cost *Ceres* all that pain
 To seek her through the world; nor that sweet Grove
 Of *Daphne* by *Orontes*, and th' inspir'd
 Castalian Spring, might with this Paradise
 275 Of *Eden* strive ; nor that *Nysian* Ile
 Girt with the River *Triton*, where old *Cham*,
 Whom Gentiles *Ammon* call and *Lybian* fove,
 Hid *Amalthea* and her Florid Son
 Young *Bacchus* from his Stepdame *Rhea's* eye ;
 280 Nor where *Abassin* Kings thir issue Guard,
 Mount *Amara*, though this by som suppos'd
 True Paradise under the *Ethiop* Line
 By *Nilus* head, enclosd with shining Rock,
 A whole days journy high, but wide remote
 285 From this *Affyrian* Garden, where the Fiend
 Saw undelighted all delight, all kind
 Of living Creatures new to sight and strang^e :
 Two of far nobler shape erect and tall,
 Godlike erect, with native Honour clad
 290 In naked Majestie seemd Lords of all,

And

258 vine] Vine 263 chrystral] chryftall 269 gathering] gathring 271 Was] The W is wrong font. 274 Spring,] Spring The comma is an improvement and was, I believe, inserted at Milton's insistence. 277 Lybian] Libyan 283 enclosd] enclos'd Apparently the 1674 compositor forgot to set the apostrophe, as the curled s was used before an apostrophe, and the 'f' would have been used if the d was to follow immediately. 284 days] dayes journy] journey 287 strange:] The e is broken in all copies examined.

94 **Paradise Lost.** Book IV.

And worthie seemd, for in thir looks Divine
 The image of thir glorious Maker shon,
 Truth, wisdome, Sanctitude severe and pure,
 Severe but in true filial freedom plac't ;
 295 Vvhence true autoritie in men ; though both
 Not equal, as thir sex not equal seemd ;
 For contemplation hee and valour formd,
 For softness shee and sweet attractive Grace,
 Hee for God only, shee for God in him :
 300 His fair large Front and Eye sublime declar'd
 Absolute rule ; and Hyacinthin Locks
 Round from his parted forelock manly hung
 Clustering, but not beneath his shoulders broad :
 Shee as a vail down to the slender waste
 305 Her unadorned golden tresses wore
 Disheveld, but in wanton ringlets wav'd
 As the Vine curles her tendrils, which impli'd
 Subjection, but requir'd with gentle sway,
 And by her yielded, by him best receivd,
 310 Yielded with coy submision, modest pride,
 And sweet reluctant amorous delay.
 Nor those mysterious parts were then conceald,
 Then was not guiltie shame, dishonest shame
 Of natures works, honor dishonorabile,
 315 Sin-bred, how have ye troubl'd all mankind
 With shews instead, meer shews of seeming pure,
 And banisht from mans life his happiest life,
 Simplicitie and spotles innocence.
 So passd they naked on, nor shund the sight
 320 Of God or Angel, for they thought no ill :
 So hand in hand they passd, the lovliest pair
 That ever since in loves imbraces met,
Adam the goodliest man of men since borne
 His Sons, the fairest of her Daughters *Eve*.

Under

293 *wisdome,*] Wisdome, 294 *Severe*] Severe, The comma seems to be needed. 303 *broad:*] Italic colon. 309 *yielded,*] yeilded, 310 *Yielded*] Yeilded submision,]] The comma is faint in all 1674 copies examined. 316 *With*] The W is wrong font.

Book IV. *Paradise Lost.* 95

- 325 Under a tuft of shade that on a green
 Stood whispering soft, by a fresh Fountain side
 They sat them down, and after no more toil
 Of thir sweet Gardning labour then suffic'd
 To recommend coole Zephyr, and made ease
 330 More easie, wholsom thirst and appetite
 More grateful, to thir Supper Fruits they fell,
 Nectarine Fruits which the compliant boughes
 Yielded them, side-long as they sat recline
 On the soft downie Bank damaskt with flours :
 335 The favourie pulp they chew, and in the rinde
 Still as they thirsted scoop the brimming stream ;
 Nor gentle purpose, nor endearing smiles
 Wanted, nor youthful dalliance as beseems
 Fair couple, linkt in happie nuptial League,
 340 Alone as they. About them frisking playd
 All Beasts of th' Earth, since wilde, and of all chase
 In Wood or Wilderness, Forrest or Den ;
 Sporting the Lion rampd, and in his paw
 Dandl'd the Kid ; Bears, Tygers, Ounces, Pards,
 345 Gambold before them, th' unwieldy Elephant
 To make them mirth us'd all his might, and wreath'd
 His Lithe Proboscis ; close the Serpent fly
 Insinuating, wove with Gordian twine
 His breaded train, and of his fatal guile
 350 Gave proof unheeded ; others on the gras
 Coucht, and now fild with pasture gazing sat,
 Or Bedward ruminating : for the Sun
 Declin'd was hasting now with prone carreer
 To th' Ocean Iles, and in th' ascending Scale
 355 Of Heav'n the Starrs that usher Evening rose :
 When *Satan* still in gaze, as first he stood,
 Scarce thus at length faild speech recoverd sad.
 O Hell ! what doe mine eyes with grief behold,

Intro

328 thir]] Stressed? 333 Yielded] Yeilded 344 Pards,] Pards The comma seems unwanted.
 346 and] &

96 *Paradise Lost.* Book IV.

- Into our room of bliss thus high advanc't
 360 Creatures of other mould, earth-born perhaps,
 Not Spirits, yet to heav'nly Spirits bright
 Little inferior ; whom my thoughts pursue
 With wonder, and could love, so lively shines
 In them Divine resemblance, and such grace
 365 The hand that formd them on thir shape hath pour'd.
 Ah gentle pair, yee little think how nigh
 Your change approaches, when all these delights
 Will vanish and deliver ye to woe,
 More woe, the more your taste is now of joy ;
 370 Happie, but for so happie ill secur'd
 Long to continue, and this high seat your Heav'n
 Ill senc't for Heav'n to keep out such a foe
 As now is enterd ; yet no purpos'd foe
 To you whom I could pittie thus forlorne
 375 Though I unpittied : League with you I seek,
 And mutual amitie so streight, so close,
 That I with you must dwell, or you with me
 Henceforth ; my dwelling haply may not please
 Like this fair Paradise, your sense, yet such
 380 Accept your Makers work ; he gave it me,
 Which I as freely give ; Hell shall unfold,
 To entertain you two, her widest Gates,
 And send forth all her Kings ; there will be room,
 Not like these narrow limits, to receive
 385 Your numerous offspring ; if no better place,
 Thank him who puts me loath to this revenge
 On you who wrong me not for him who wrongd.
 And should I at your harmless innocence
 Melt, as I doe, yet public reason just,
 390 Honour and Empire with revenge enlarg'd,
 By conquering this new World, compels me now
 To do what else though daund I should abhorre.

So

377 me]] Stressed. 381 unfold,] unfould, 389 I] The I is battered in all copies examined.

Book IV. Paradise Lost. 97

- So spake the Fiend, and with necessitie,
The Tyrants plea, excus'd his devilish deeds.
- 395 Then from his loftie stand on that high Tree
Down he alights among the sportful Herd
Of those fourfooted kindes, himself now one,
Now other, as thir shape servd best his end
Neerer to view his prey, and unesp'ld
- 400 To mark what of thir state he more might learn
By word or action markt : about them round
A Lion now he stalkes with fierie glare,
Then as a Tyger, who by chance hath spi'd
In some Purlieu two gentle Fawnes at play,
- 405 Strait couches close, then rising changes oft
His couchant watch, as one who chose his ground
Whence rushing he might surest seize them both
Grip't in each paw : When *Adam* first of men
To first of women *Eve* thus moving speech,
- 410 Turn'd him all eare to hear new utterance flow.
Sole partner and sole part of all these joyes,
Dearer thy self then all ; needs must the power
That made us, and for us this ample World
Be infinitely good, and of his good
- 415 As liberal and free as infinite,
That rais'd us from the dust and plac't us here
In all this happiness, who at his hand
Have nothing merited, nor can performe
Aught whereof hee hath need, hee who requires
- 420 From us no other service then to keep
This one, this easie charge, of all the Trees
In Paradise that bear delicious fruit
So various, not to taste that onely Tree
Of knowledge, planted by the Tree of Life,
- 425 So neer grows Death to Life, what ere Death is,
Som dreadful thing no doubt ; for well thou knowst

H God

401 markt:] Italic colon. 403 Tyger,] Tiger, 407 seize] seife 408 paw:] Italic colon.
When] when 410 hear] heare 412 power] Power 413 World] The W is wrong font.
422 bear] beare

98 *Paradise Lost.* Book IV.

- God hath pronounc't it death to taste that Tree,
 The only sign of our obedience left
 Among so many signes of power and rule
 430 Conferrd upon us, and Dominion giv'n
 Over all other Creatures that posses
 Earth, Aire, and Sea. Then let us not think hard
 One easie prohibition, who enjoy
 Free leave so large to all things else, and choice
 435 Unlimited of manifold delights :
 But let us ever praise him, and extoll
 His bountie, following our delightful task
 To prune these growing Plants, and tend these Flours,
 Which were it toilsom, yet with thee were sweet.
- 440 To whom thus *Eve* repli'd. O thou for whom
 And from whom I was formd flesh of thy flesh,
 And without whom am to no end, my Guide
 And Head, what thou hast said is just and right.
 For wee to him indeed all praises owe,
- 445 And daily thanks, I chiefly who enjoy
 So farr the happier Lot, enjoying thee
 Præminent by so much odds, while thou
 Like confort to thy self canst no where find.
 That day I oft remember, when from sleep
- 450 I first awak't, and found my self repos'd
 Under a shade of flours, much wondring where
 And what I was, whence thither brought, and how.
 Not distant far from thence a murmuring sound
 Of waters issu'd from a Cave and spread
- 455 Into a liquid Plain, then stood unmov'd
 Pure as th' expanse of Heav'n ; I thither went
 With unexperienc't thought, and laid me downe
 On the green bank, to look into the cleer
 Smooth Lake, that to me seemd another Skie.
- 460 As I bent down to look, just opposite,

A

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 431 posses] possesse 435 delights:] Italic colon. 438 growingPlants,] No space in any copy examined. and] & 439 Which] The W is wrong font. 447 Præminent] Preeminent 451 of] on It is difficult to be certain that this change was deliberate, as the change in sense is so great that Milton might have intended either word.

Book IV. *Paradise Lost.* 99

A Shape within the watry gleam appeerd
 Bending to look on me, I started back,
 It started back, but pleas'd I soon returnd,
 Pleas'd it returnd as soon with answering looks
 Of sympathie and love ; there I had fixt
 Mine eyes till now, and pin'd with vain desire,
 Had not a voice thus warnd me, VVhat thou seest,
 VVhat there thou seest fair Creature is thy self,
 VVith thee it came and goes : but follow me,
 And I will bring thee where no shadow staies
 Thy coming, and thy soft imbraces, hee
 VVhose image thou art, him thou shall enjoy
 Inseparablie thine, to him shalt beare
 Multitudes like thy self, and thence be call'd
 Mother of human Race : what could I doe,
 But follow strait, invisibly thus led ?
 Till I espi'd thee, fair indeed and tall,
 Under a Platan, yet methought less faire,
 Less winning soft, less amiablie milde,
 Then that smooth watry image ; back I turnd,
 Thou following cryd'st aloud, Return faire *Eve* ;
 VVhom fli'st thou ? whom thou fli'st, of him thou art,
 His flesh, his bone ; to give thee being I lent
 Out of my side to thee, neerest my heart
 Substantial Life, to have thee by my side
 Henceforth an individual solace dear ;
 Part of my Soul I seek thee, and thee claim
 My other half : with that thy gentle hand
 Seisd mine, I yielded, and from that time see
 How beauty is excell'd by manly grace
 And wisdom, which alone is truly fair.
 So spake our general Mother, and with eyes
 Of conjugal attraction unreprov'd,
 And meek surrender, half imbracing leand

H 2

OB

463 *pleas'd*] *pleasd* The use of the curled 's' in the first edition may indicate that the compositor's intent was to set an apostrophe after it, as otherwise the long 'f' could have been used.

465 *love;*] *love,* This change could have arisen from foul case, but on the other hand, the pause seems heavier than the 1667 comma can indicate. 467 *VVhat*] Notice the lack of capital 'W's' on the page. 481 *faire*] *fair Eve,*] The mark above the comma in 1674 is from something on the type or an offset smear. It makes an almost clear semicolon in copy 14, from which the above reproduction was taken. But in copy 6 and others, the mark is barely visible. Examination of all 1674 copies at hand leaves no doubt that a comma was set, and something got on the type and made it print like a semicolon. 1678 printed a comma here. 488 *half:*] *Italic colon.*

489 *yielded,*] *yeilded,* The 1674 compositor seemed to prefer the *ie* spelling throughout the poem, just as the 1667 compositor preferred the *ei* spelling. Of course there is the possibility that Milton called for the *ie* spelling, but it seems more likely to me that the preference was the compositor's.

100 **Paradise Lost.** Book IV.

- 495 On our first Father, half her swelling Breast
 Naked met his under the flowing Gold
 Of her loose tresses hid : he in delight
 Both of her Beauty and submissive Charms
 Smil'd with superior Love, as *Jupiter*
 500 On *Juno* smiles, when he impregn's the Clouds
 That shed *May* Flowers ; and press'd her Matron lip
 With kisses pure : aside the Devil turnd
 For envie, yet with jealous leer maligne
 Ey'd them askance, and to himself thus plaind.
 505 Sight hateful, sight tormenting ! thus these two
 Imparadis't in one anothers arms
 The happier *Eden*, shall enjoy thir fill
 Of bliss on bliss, while I to Hell am thrust,
 Whereneither joy nor love, but fierce desire,
 510 Among our other torments not the least,
 Still unfulfill'd with pain of longing pines ;
 Yet let me not forget what I have gain'd
 From thir own mouths ; all is not theirs it seems :
 One fatal Tree there stands of Knowledge call'd,
 515 Forbidden them to taste : Knowledge forbidd'n ?
 Suspicious, reasonless. Why should thir Lord
 Envie them that ? can it be sin to know,
 Can it be death ? and do they onely stand
 By Ignorance, is that thir happie state,
 520 The proof of thir obedience and thir faith ?
 O fair foundation laid whereon to build
 Thir ruine ! Hence I will excite thir minds
 With more desire to know, and to reject
 Envious commands, invented with designe
 525 To keep them low whom knowledge might exalt
 Equal with Gods ; aspiring to be such,
 They taste and die : what likelier can ensue ?
 But first with narrow search I must walk round

This

497 *he*]] The word is stressed, but the short form of the pronoun has not been changed from the same form in the 1667 edition. 509 *Whereneither*] No space in any copy examined. 513 *thir . . . theirs*]] Notice the careful discrimination here between the stressed and unstressed forms of the pronoun. 516 *Suspicious,*] The c is below type alignment. 518 *onely*]] The first syllable is stressed.

Book IV. *Paradise Lost.* 101

- This Garden, and no corner leave unspi'd ;
 530 A chance but chance may lead where I may meet
 Some wandring Spirit of Heav'n, by Fountain side,
 Or in thick shade retir'd, from him to draw
 What further would be learnt. Live while ye may,
 Yet happie pair ; enjoy, till I return,
 535 Short pleasures, for long woes are to succeed.
 So saying, his proud step he scornful turn'd,
 But with fly circumspection, and began (roam.
 Through wood, through waste, o're hill, o're dale his
 Mean while in utmost Longitude, where Heav'n
 540 With Earth and Ocean meets, the setting Sun
 Slowly descended, and with right aspect
 Against the eastern Gate of Paradise
 Leveld his eevning Rayes : it was a Rock
 Of Alablafter, pil'd up to the Clouds,
 545 Conspicuous farr, winding with one ascent
 Accessible from Earth, one entrance high ;
 The rest was craggy cliff, that overhung
 Still as it rose, impossible to climbe.
 Betwixt these rockie Pillars *Gabriel* sat
 550 Chief of th' Angelic Guards, awaiting night ;
 About him exercis'd Heroic Games
 Th' unarmed Youth of Heav'n, but nigh at hand
 Celestial Armourie, Shields, Helmes, and Speares,
 Hung high with Diamond flaming, and with Gold.
 555 Thither came *Vriel*, gliding through the Eeven
 On a Sun beam, swift as a shooting Starr
 In *Autumn* thwarts the night, when vapors fir'd
 Impreſſes the Air, and shews the Mariner
 From what point of his Compas to beware
 560 Imperuous winds : he thus began in haste.
Gabriel, to thee thy course by Lot hath giv'n
 Charge and strict watch that to this happie Place

H 3

No

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 534 pair;]] In 1674 the top element of the semicolon is very faint. 538 hill,] hil, 553 Speares,] Speares 561 course] courſe In this instance the 1674 compositor has added the e which the 1667 compositor omitted; but in several other instances of the long 'ſ' appearing in 1667 as a final letter the deficiency was not made up by the 1674 compositor. 562 Place] place

102 *Paradise Lost.* Book IV.

- No evil thing approach or enter in ;
 This day at highth of Noon came to my Spheare
 565 A Spirit, zealous, as he seem'd, to know
 More of th' Almighties works, and chiefly Man
 Gods latest Image : I describ'd his way
 Bent all on speed, and markt his Aerie Gate ;
 But in the Mount that lies from *Eden* North,
 570 Where he first lighted, soon discernd his looks
 Alien from Heav'n, with passions foul obscur'd :
 Mine eye pursu'd him still, but under shade
 Lost sight of him ; one of the banisht crew
 I fear, hath ventur'd from the deep, to raise
 575 New troubles ; him thy care must be to find.
 To whom the winged Warriour thus returnd :
Uriel, no wonder if thy perfet sight,
 Amid the Suns bright circle where thou sifst,
 See farr and wide : in at this Gate none pass
 580 The vigilance here plac't, but such as come
 Well known from Heav'n ; and since Meridian hour
 No Creature thence : if Spirit of other sort,
 So minded, have oreleapt these earthie bounds
 On purpose, hard thou knowst it to exclude
 585 Spiritual substance with corporeal barr.
 But if within the circuit of these walks,
 In whatsoeuer shape he lurk, of whom
 Thou tellst, by morrow dawning I shall know.
 So promis'd hee, and *Uriel* to his charge
 590 Returnd on that bright beam, whose point now raisd
 Bore him slope downward to the Sun now fall'n
 Beneath th' *Azores* ; whither the prime Orb,
 Incredible how swift, had thither rowld
 Diurnal, or this less volubil Earth
 595 By shorter flight to th' East, had left him there
 Arraying with reflected Purple and Gold

The

582 thence:] Italic colon. 586 walks,] walks 588 tellst,] telst, 592 whither]] Although making perfectly good sense, and printed thus in both 1667 and 1674 editions, since 1719 this word has been changed to 'whether' by a great many editors. But see my note on Book 1:133.

This is another occurrence of the problem of making two states of the same page appear on facing pages. In order to do this with the two pages that follow, different states of the same recto page, this preceding recto is used for a sort of introduction to them; the first state is printed on the next page, a verso, and the second state appears as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.

Book IV. *Paradise Lost.* 101

- The Clouds that on his Western Throne attend :
 Now came still Eevning on, and Twilight gray
 Had in her sober Liverie all things clad ;
 600 Silence accompanied, for Beast and Bird,
 They to thir grassie Couch, these to thir Nests
 Were slunk, all but the wakeful Nightingale ;
 She all night long her amorous descant sung ;
 Silence was pleas'd : now glow'd the Firmament
 605 With living Saphirs : *Hesperus* that led.
 The starrie Host, rode brightest, till the Moon
 Rising in clouded Majestie, at length
 Apparent Queen unavild her peerless light,
 And o're the dark her Silver Mantle threw.
 610 When *Adam* thus to *Eve* : Fair Consort, th' hour
 Of night, and all things now retir'd to rest
 Mind us of like repose, since God hath set
 Labour and rest, as day and night to men
 Successive, and the timely dew of sleep
 615 Now falling with soft slumbrous weight inclines
 Our eye-lids ; other Creatures all day long
 Rove idle unimploid, and less need rest ;
 Man hath his daily work of body or mind
 Appointed, which declares his Dignitie,
 620 And the regard of Heav'n on all his waies ;
 While other Animals unactive range,
 And of thir doings God takes no account.
 To morrow ere fresh Morning streak the East
 With first approach of light, we must be ris'n,
 625 And at our pleasant labour, to reform
 Yon flourie Arbors, yonder Allies green,
 Our walk at noon, with branches overgrown,
 That mock our scant manuring, and require
 More hands then ours to lop thir wanton growth :
 630 Those Blossoms also, and those dropping Gumms,

H 4

That

STATE I OF PAGE NUMBER

Page Number. About two thirds of the copies examined numbered this page 101 but the others printed the page number 103 correctly. 597 Western] The W is wrong font. 627 walk] walks The plural form of 1667 seems to me to be preferred, as it suggests daily retreats by Adam and Eve at noon to the Allies green, but the matter is a delicate one.

Book IV. *Paradise Lost.* 103

- The Clouds that on his Western Throne attend :
 Now came still Eevning on, and Twilight gray
 Had in her sober Liverie all things clad ;
 600 Silence accompanied, for Beast and Bird,
 They to thir grassie Couch, these to thir Nests
 Were slunk, all but the wakeful Nightingale ;
 She all night long her amorous descant sung ;
 Silence was pleas'd : now glow'd the Firmament
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 The starrie Host, rode brightest, till the Moon
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 Man hath his daily work of body or mind
 Appointed, which declares his Dignitie,
 620 And the regard of Heav'n on all his waies ;
 While other Animals unactive range,
 And of thir doings God takes no account.
 To morrow ere fresh Morning streak the East
 With first approach of light, we must be ris'n,
 625 And at our pleasant labour, to reform
 Yon flourie Arbors, yonder Allies green,
 Our walk at noon, with branches overgrown,
 That mock our scant manuring, and require
 More hands then ours to lop thir wanton growth :
 630 Those Blossoms also, and those dropping Gumms,

H 4 That

104 *Paradise Lost.* Book IV.

That lie bestrowne unsightly and unsmooth,
Ask riddance, if we mean to tread with ease ;
Mean while, as Nature wills, Night bids us rest.

To whom thus *Eve* with perfet beauty adornd.

- 635 My Author and Disposer, what thou bidst
Unarg'd I obey ; so God ordains,
God is thy Law, thou mine : to know no more
Is womans happiest knowledge and her praise.
With thee conversing I forget all time,
- 640 All seasons and thir change, all please alike.
Sweet is the breath of morn, her rising sweet,
With charm of earliest Birds ; pleasant the Sun
When first on this delightful Land he spreads
His orient Beams, on herb, tree, fruit, and flour,
- 645 Glistring with dew ; fragrant the fertil earth
After soft showers ; and sweet the coming on
Of grateful Eevning milde, then silent Night
With this her solemn Bird and this fair Moon,
And these the Gemms of Heav'n, her starrie train :
- 650 But neither breath of Morn when she ascends
With charm of earliest Birds, nor rising Sun
On this delightful land, nor herb, fruit, floure,
Glistring with dew, nor fragrance after showers,
Nor grateful Eevning mild, nor silent Night
- 655 With this her solemn Bird, nor walk by Moon,
Or glittering Starr-light without thee is sweet.
But wherfore all night long shine these, for whom
This glorious sight, when sleep hath shut all eyes ?
- To whom our general Ancestor replid.
- 660 Daughter of God and Man, accomplisht *Eve*,
Those have thir course to finish, round the Earth,
By morrow Eevning, and from Land to Land
In order, though to Nations yet unborn,
Ministring light prepar'd, they set and rise ;

Least

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent broken period. 632 Ask] Afk (ligature) 651 Sun] The S is italic. 654 Eevning] Evening The 1674 form seems to fit the meter of the line better than does the 1667 form. 655 With] The W is wrong font. 658 This] The T is out of alignment in all copies examined.

Book IV. *Paradise Lost.* 105

- 665 Least total darkness should by Night regaine
 Her old possession, and extinguish life
 In Nature and all things, which these soft fires
 Not only enlighten, but with kindly heate
 Of various influence foment and warme,
 670 Temper or nourish, or in part shed down
 Thir stellar vertue on all kinds that grow
 On Earth, made hereby apter to receive
 Perfection from the Suns more potent Ray.
 These then, though unbeheld in deep of night,
 675 Shine not in vain, nor think, though men were none,
 That heav'n would want spectators, God want praise ;
 Millions of spiritual Creatures walk the Earth
 Unseen, both when we wake, and when we sleep :
 All these with ceasless praise his works behold
 680 Both day and night : how often from the steep
 Of echoing Hill or Thicket have we heard
 Celestial voices to the midnight air,
 Sole, or responsive each to others note
 Singing thir great Creator : oft in bands
 685 While they keep watch, or nightly rounding walk
 With Heav'ly touch of instrumental sounds
 In full harmonic number joind, thir songs
 Divide the night, and lift our thoughts to Heaven.
 Thus talking hand in hand alone they pass'd
 690 On to thir blissful Bower ; it was a place
 Chos'n by the sovran Planter, when he fram'd
 All things to mans delightful use ; the roofe
 Of thickest covert was inwoven shade
 Laurel and Mirtle, and what higher grew
 695 Of firm and fragrant leaf ; on either side
Acanthus, and each odorous bushie shrub
 Fenc'd up the verdant wall ; each beauteous flour,
Iris all hues, Roses, and Gessamin

Rear'd

673 **Ray.**] The R is battered in all copies examined. 674 **unbeheld**] The n is faint and below type alignment. 686 **Heav'ly**] The v is below type alignment in all copies examined.

106 *Paradise Lost.* Book IV.

- Rear'd high thir flourisht heads between, and wrought
 700 Mosaic ; underfoot the Violet,
 Crocus, and Hyacinth with rich inlay
 Broiderd the ground, more colour'd then with stone
 Of costliest Emblem : other Creature here
 Beast, Bird, Insect, or Worm durst enter none ;
 705 Such was thir awe of Man. In shadie Bower
 More sacred and sequesterd, though but feignd,
Pan or *Silvanus* never slept, nor Nymph,
 Nor *Faunus* haunted. Here in close recess
 With Flowers, Garlands, and sweet-smelling Herbs
 710 Espoused *Eve* deckt first her nuptial Bed,
 And heav'nly Quires the Hymenæan sung,
 What day the genial Angel to our Sire
 Brought her in naked beauty more adorn'd,
 More lovely then *Pandora*, whom the Gods
 715 Endowd with all thir gifts, and O too like
 In sad event, when to the unwiser Son
 Of *Japhet* brought by *Hermes*, she ensnar'd
 Mankind with her faire looks, to be aveng'd
 On him who had stole *Joves* authentic fire.
 720 Thus at thir shadie Lodge arriv'd, both stood
 Both turnd, and under op'n Skie ador'd
 The God that made both Skie, Air, Earth and Heav'n
 Which they beheld, the Moons resplendent Globe
 And starrie Pole : Thou also mad'st the Night,
 725 Maker Omnipotent, and thou the Day,
 Which we in our appointed work employd
 Have finisht happie in our mutual help
 And mutual love, the Crown of all our bliss
 Ordaind by thee, and this delicious place
 730 For us too large, where thy abundance wants
 Partakers, and uncropt falls to the ground.
 But thou hast promis'd from us two a Race

To

705 *Man.*] man. *shadie*] shadier The word should seemingly be in the comparative form, although the word **More** in the next line prevents the form ending in 'r' from being completely mandatory today. Copy 15 has the 'r' skillfully supplied with a pen. 710 *nuptial*] Nuptial
 718 *aveng'd*] The 1674 apostrophe is faint in all copies examined and barely visible in a few and in still others, fails to print as above. 720 *stood*] stood, The comma seems to be needed.
 722 *and*] & 729 *Ordaind*] Ordain'd

Book IV. *Paradise Lost.* 107

- To fill the Earth, who shall with us extoll
 Thy goodness infinite, both when we wake,
 And when we seek, as now, thy gift of sleep.
 This said unanimous, and other Rites
 Observing none, but adoration pure
 Which God likes best, into thir inmost bowre
 Handed they went; and eas'd the putting off
 These troublsom disguises which wee wear,
 Strait side by side were laid, nor turnd I weene
Adam from his fair Spouse, nor *Eve* the Rites
 Mysterious of connubial Love refus'd:
 Whatever Hypocrites auerely talk
 Of puritie and place and innocence,
 Defaming as impure what God declares
 Pure, and commands to som, leaves free to all.
 Our Maker bids increase, who bids abstain
 But our destroyer, foe to God and Man?
 Haile wedded Love, mysterious Law, true source
 Of human offspring, sole proprietie,
 In Paradise of all things common else.
 By thee adulterous lust was driv'n from men
 Among the bestial herds to raunge, by thee
 Founded in Reason, Loyal, Just, and Pure,
 Relations dear, and all the Charities
 Of Father, Son, and Brother first were known.
 Farr be it, that I should write thee sin or blame,
 Or think thee unbefitting holiest place,
 Perpetual Fountain of Domestic sweets,
 Whose bed is undefil'd and chaste pronounc't,
 Present, or past, as Saints and Patriarchs us'd.
 Here Love his golden shafts imploies, here lights
 His constant Lamp, and waves his purple wings,
 Reigns here and revels; not in the bought smile
 Of Harlots, loveless, joyless, unindeard,

Casual

Running Head. IV.] The same broken period that occurs on pages 89, 121, 171, and 185.
 738 bowre] bower 749 destroyer,] Destroyer, The d is battered in all 1674 copies examined.
 750 wedded] The second d is very faint in most copies examined. source] sourfe
 751 offspring,] offspring, 753 lust] The st ligature is broken in all copies examined. 755 Just,]
 The J is very faint in most copies examined. 761 bed] Bed chaste] chast

108 *Paradise Lost.* Book IV.

- Casual fruition, nor in Court Amours
 Mixt Dance, or wanton Mask, or Midnight Bal,
 Or Serenate, which the starv'd Lover sings
 770 To his proud fair, best quitted with disdain.
 These lulld by Nightingales imbraceing slept,
 And on thir naked limbs the flourie roof
 Showrd Roscs, which the Morn repair'd. Sleep on
 Blest pair ; and O yet happiest if ye seek
 775 No happier state, and know to know no more.
- Now had night measur'd with her shaddowie Cone
 Half way up Hill this vast Sublunar Vault,
 And from thir Ivorie Port the Cherubim
 Forth issuing at th' accustomd hour stood armd
 780 To thir night watches in warlike Parade,
 When *Gabriel* to his next in power thus spake.
- Uzziel*, half these draw off, and coast the South
 With strictest watch ; these other wheel the North,
 Our circuit meets full West. As flame they part
 785 Half wheeling to the Shield, half to the Spear.
 From these, two strong and subtle Spirits he calld
 That neer him stood, and gave them thus in charge.
- Ithuriel* and *Zephon*, with wingd speed
 Search through this Garden, leave unsearcht no nook,
 790 But chiefly where those two fair Creatures Lodge,
 Now laid perhaps asleep secure of harme.
 This Eevning from the Sun's decline arriv'd
 Who tells of som infernal Spirit seen
 Hitherward bent (who could have thought ?) escap'd
 795 The barrs of Hell, on errand bad no doubt :
 Such where ye find, seise fast, and hither bring.
- So saying, on he led his radiant Files,
 Daz'ling the Moon ; these to the Bower direct
 In search of whom they sought : him there they found
 800 Squat like a Toad, close at the eare of *Eve* ;

Affay-

781 When] The W is wrong font. 789 leave] leav 793 Who] The W is wrong font.

Book IV. *Paradise Lost.* 109

Assaying by his Devilish art to reach
 The Organs of her Fancie, and with them forge
 Illusions as he list, Phantasms and Dreams,
 Or if, inspiring venom, he might taint

805 Th' animal Spirits that from pure blood arise
 Like gentle breaths from Rivers pure, thence raise
 At least distemper'd, discontented thoughts,
 Vaine hopes, vaine aimes, inordinate desires
 Blown up with high conceits ingendring pride.

810 Him thus intent *Ithuriel* with his Spear
 Touch'd lightly ; for no falsehood can endure
 Touch of Celestial temper, but returns
 Of force to its own likeness : up he starts
 Discoverd and surpriz'd. As when a spark

815 Lights on a heap of nitrous Powder, laid
 Fit for the Tun som Magazin to store
 Against a rumord VVarr, the Smuttie graine
 VVith sudden blaze diffus'd, inflames the Aire :
 So started up in his own shape the Fiend.

820 Back stept those two faire Angels half amaz'd
 So sudden to behold the griesslie King ;
 Yet thus, unmovd with fear, accost him soon.

Which of those rebell Spirits adjudg'd to Hell
 Com'st thou, escap'd thy prison, and transform'd,
 825 VVhy satst thou like an enemie in waite
 Here watching at the head of these that sleep ?

Know ye not then said *Satan*, fill'd with scorn,
 Know ye not mee ? ye knew me once no mate
 For you, there sitting where ye durst not soare ;
 830 Not to know mee argues your selves unknown,
 The lowest of your throng ; or if ye know,
 VVhy ask ye, and superfluous begin
 Your message, like to end as much in vain ?
 To whom thus *Zepbon*, answering scorn with scorn.

Think

808 Vaine] Vain vaine] vain 813 likeness:] Italic colon. 817 VVarr,] This is another page
 devoid of capital 'W's' 818 Aire:] Italic colon. 820 faire] fair 827 fill'd] fill'd
 828 mee?] mee? The word is certainly stressed.

110 *Paradise Lost.* Book IV.

- 835 Think not, revolted Spirit, thy shape the same,
Or undiminist brightness, to be known
As when thou stoodst in Heav'n upright and pure;
That Glorie then, when thou no more wast good,
Departed from thee, and thou resembl'st now
840 Thy sin and place of doom obscure and foule.
But come, for thou, besure, shalt give account
To him who sent us, whose charge is to keep
This place inviolable, and these from harm.
So spake the Cherube, and his grave rebuke
845 Severe in youthful beautie, added grace
Invincible: abasht the Devil stood,
And felt how awful goodness is, and saw
Vertue in her shape how lovly, saw, and pin'd
His loss; but chiefly to find here observd
850 His lustre visibly impar'd; yet seemd
Undaunted. If I must contend, said he,
Best with the best, the Sender not the sent,
Or all at once; more glorie will be wonn,
Or less be lost. Thy fear, said *Zepbon* bold,
855 VVill save us trial what the least can doe
Single against thee wicked, and thence weak.
The Fiend repli'd not, overcome with rage;
But like a proud Steed reind, went hautie on,
Chaumping his iron curb: to strive or flie
860 He held it vain; awe from above had quell'd
His heart, not else dismai'd. Now drew they nigh
The western Point, where those half-rounding guards
Just met, and closing stood in squadron joind
Awaiting next command. To whom thir Chief
865 *Gabriel* from the Front thus calld aloud.
O friends, I hear the tread of nimble feet
Hasting this way, and now by glimps discerne
Ithuriel and *Zephon* through the shade,

And

841 before,]] No space, but the form is from 1667, and few editors have bothered with the matter. Beeching correctly printed it exactly as it reads in 1667; but Columbia text and note are wrong. No one could possibly object to the two words being printed separately; but all should object to any statement indicating that the two editions read differently here. 846 Invincible:] Italic colon. 859 curb:] Italic colon. 861 heart,] The comma is smeared in most copies examined. 862 Point,] point. 863 and] &

Book IV. *Paradise Lost.* 111

- And with them comes a third of Regal port,
 870 But faded splendor wan ; who by his gate
 And fierce demeanour seems the Prince of Hell,
 Not likely to part hence without contest ;
 Stand firm, for in his look defiance lours.
 He scarce had ended, when those two approachd
 875 And brief related whom they brought, where found,
 How busied, in what form and posture coucht.
 To whom with stern regard thus *Gabriel* spake.
 Why hast thou, *Satan*, broke the bounds prescr ib'd
 To thy transgressions, and disturb'd the charge
 880 Of others, who approve not to transgres
 By thy example, but have power and right
 To question thy bold entrance on this place ;
 Implo'ide it seems to violate sleep, and those
 Whose dwelling God hath planted here in bliss ?
 To whom thus *Satan*, with contemptuous brow.
 Gabriel, thou hadst in Heav'n th' esteem of wise,
 And such I held thee ; but this question askt
 Puts me in doubt. Lives ther who loves his pain ?
 Who would not, finding way, break loose from Hell,
 890 Though thither doom'd ? Thou wouldest thy self, no
 And boldly venture to whatever place (doubt,
 Farthest from pain, where thou mightst hope to change
 Torment with ease, and soonest recompence
 Dole with delight, which in this place I sought ;
 895 To thee no reason ; who knowst only good,
 But evil hast not tri'd : and wilt object
 His will who bound us ? let him surer barr
 His Iron Gates, if he intends our stay
 In that dark durance : thus much what was askt.
 900 The rest is true, they found me where they say ;
 But that implies not violence or harme.
 Thus he in scorn. The warlike Angel mov'd,
 Disdain-

875 where] wher 878 prescr ib'd] So spaced in all 1674 copies examined. 883 to] Both letters are battered in all copies examined. 885 *Satan*,] *Satan* 893 and] & 902 he] hee The word is almost certainly stressed, and the 1674 compositor has slipped up here.

112 **Paradise Lost.** Book IV.

- Disdainfully half smiling thus repli'd.
 O los of one in Heav'n to judge of wise,
 905 Since *Satan* fell, whom follie overthrew,
 And now returns him from his prison scap't,
 Gravely in doubt whether to hold them wise
 Or not, who ask what boldness brought him hither
 Unlicenc't from his bounds in Hell prescrib'd ;
 910 So wise he judges it to fly from pain
 However, and to scape his punishment.
 So judge thou still, presumptuous, till the wrauth,
 Which thou incurst by flying, meet thy flight
 Seavenfold, and scourge that wisdom back to Hell,
 915 Which taught thee yet no better, that no pain
 Can equal anger infinite provok't.
 But wherefore thou alone ? wherefore with thee
 Came not all Hell broke loose ? is pain to them
 Less pain, less to be fled, or thou then they
 920 Less hardie to endure ? courageous Chief,
 The first in flight from pain, had'st thou alledg'd
 To thy deserted host this cause of flight,
 Thou surely hadst not come sole fugitive .
- To which the Fiend thus answerd frowning stern.
- 925 Not that I less endure, or shrink from pain,
 Insulting Angel, well thou knowst I stood
 Thy fiercest, when in Battel to thy aide
 Thy blasting volied Thunder made all speed
 And seconded thy else not dreaded Spear.
- 930 But still thy words at random, as before,
 Argue thy inexperience what behooves
 From hard assaies and ill successes past
 A faithful Leader, not to hazard all
 Through wayes of danger by himself untri'd,
- 935 I therefore, I alone first undertook

To

921 alledg'd] alleg'd 928 Thy] The It seems to me that the word should be the definite article, not the possessive pronominal, the compositor mistaking the beginning of line 927, immediately preceding, for the beginning of this line. 934 untri'd,] untri'd. Almost certainly, the punctuation should be a period. Catchword. To] This page carries only thirty-three lines of text and the catchword is two line spaces below the bottom line of text. This arrangement occurs again on pages 128, 136, 280, and 300.

Book V. *Paradise Lost.* 113

- To wing the desolate Abyss, and spie
 This new created World, whereof in Hell
 Fame is not silent, here in hope to find
 Better abode, and my afflicted Powers
 940 To settle here on Earth, or in mid Aire ;
 Though for possession put to try once more
 What thou and thy gay Legions dare against ;
 Whose easier busines were to serve thir Lord
 High up in Heav'n, with songs to hymne his Throne,
 945 And practis'd distances to cringe, not fight.
 To whom the warriour Angel, soon repli'd.
 To say and strait unsay, pretending first
 Wise to flic pain, profesting next the Spie,
 Argues no Leader but a lyar trac't,
 950 *Satan*, and couldst thou faithful add ? O name,
 O sacred name of faithfulness profan'd !
 Faithful to whom ? to thy rebellious crew ?
 Armie of Fiends, fit body to fit head ;
 Was this your discipline and faith ingag'd,
 955 Your military obedience, to dissolve
 Allegiance to th' acknowldg'd Power supream ?
 And thou fly hypocrite, who now wouldst seem
 Patron of liberty, who more then thou
 Once fawn'd, and cring'd, and servilly ador'd
 960 Heav'n's awful Monarch ? wherefore but in hope
 To dispossess him, and thy self to reigne ?
 But mark what I arreede thee now, avant ;
 Flie thither whence thou fledst : if from this houre
 Within these hallowd limits thou appear,
 965 Back to th' infernal pit I drag thee chaint,
 And Seale thee so, as henceforth not to scorne
 The facil gates of hell too slightly barrd.
 So threatn'd hee, but *Satan* to no threats
 Gave heed, but waxing more in rage repli'd.

I

Then

Running Head. V.] So all copies examined, although apparently the error was caught before some copies had left the shop, and in copies 17, 43, and 48 there is a skillful insertion of the 'I' before the V. done with a pen. 936 Space work-up between the and desolate in all copies examined. 946 Angel,] Angel The comma seems unneeded. 949 Leader] Leader, 956 acknowldg'd] acknowledg'd 966 henceforth] The c is faint in all copies examined.

114 **Paradise Lost.** Book IV.

- 970 Then when I am thy captive talk of chaines,
Proud limitarie Cherube, but ere then
Farr heavier load thy self expect to feel
From my prevailing arme, though Heavens King
Ride on thy wings, and thou with thy Compeers,
975 Us'd to the yoak, draw'st his triumphant wheels
In progress through the rode of Heav'n Star-pav'd.
While thus he spake, th' Angelic Squadron bright
Turnd fierie red, sharpning in mooned hornes
Thir Phalanx, and began to hemm him round
980 With ported Spears, as thick as when a field
Of *Ceres* ripe for harvest waving bends
Her bearded Grove of ears, which way the wind
Swayes them ; the careful Plowman doubting stands
Least on the threshing floore his hopeful sheaves
985 Prove chaff. On th' other side *Satan* allarm'd
Collecting all his might dilated stood,
Like *Teneriff* or *Atlas* unremov'd :
His stature reacht the Skie, and on his Crest
Sat horror Plum'd ; nor wanted in his grapse
990 What seemd both Spear and Shield : now dreadful
Might have ensu'd, nor onely Paradise (deeds
In this commotion, but the Starrie Cope
Of Heav'n perhaps, or all the Elements
At least had gon to rack, disturb'd and torne
995 With violence of this conflict, had not soon
Th' Eternal to prevent such horrid fray
Hung forth in Heav'n his golden Scales, yet seen
Betwixt *Astrea* and the *Scorpion* signe,
Wherein all things created first he weighd,
1000 The pendulous round Earth with ballanc't Aire
In counterpoise, now ponders all events,
Battels and Realms : in these he put two weights
The sequel each of parting and of fight ;

The

991 onely]] The first syllable is stressed. 992 Starrie] The S is too low in all copies examined.
Catchword. T he] So spaced and the h is broken in all copies examined.

Book IV. **Paradise Lost.** 115

The latter quick up flew, and kickt the beam;
1005 Which *Gabriel* spying, thus bespake the Fiend.
Satan, I know thy strength, and thou knowst mine,
Neither our own but giv'n; what follie then
To boast what Arms can doe, since thine no more
Then Heav'n permits, nor mine, though doubl'd now
1010 To trample thee as mire: for proof look up,
And read thy Lot in yon celestial Sign (weak,
Where thou art weigh'd, and shown how light, how
If thou resist. The Fiend lookt up and knew
His mounted scale aloft: nor more; but fled
1015 Murmuring, and with him fled the shades of night.

The End of the Fourth Book.

I 2 Paradise

1012 and] & Catchword. Paradise] PARA-

116

Paradise Lost.

BOOK V.

THE ARGUMENT.

Morning approach't, Eve relates to Adam her trouble-some dream; he likes it not, yet comforts her: They come forth to thir day labours: Thir Morning Hymn at the Door of thir Bower. God to render Man inexcusable sends Raphael to admonish him of his obedience, of his free estate, of his enemy near at band; who he is, and why his enemy, and whatever else may avail Adam to know. Raphael comes down to Paradise, his appearance describ'd, his coming discern'd by Adam afar off sitting at the door of his Bower; he goes out to meet him, brings him to his lodge, entertains him with the choycest fruits of Paradise got together by Eve; thir discourse at Table: Raphael performs his message, minds Adam of his state and of his enemy; relates at Adams request who that enemy is, and how he came to be so, beginning from his first revolt in Heaven, and the occasion thereof; how he drew his Legions after him to the parts of the North

Title. Paradise Lost.] PARADISE/ LOST. In 1674 the first a is the one with the nicks in the vertical stroke. The rules are composite, not solid.

THE ARGUMENT. The collation of the Argument only, in order, is 1674, 1668, and 1669.
 1 *Morning*] *MOrning*] 3 *labours:*] *labours:*] 4 *God*] The G is smashed in all copies examined.
 9 *appearance*] *appearing* 11 *lodge,*] *Lodg,* 12 *choycest*] *choicest*
 13 *Table:*] *Table:* 15 *enemy;*] *enemy,* 17 *thereof;*] *thereof*

Book V. *Paradise Lost.* 117

20 *North, and there incited them to rebel with him, persuading all but only Abdiel a Seraph, who in Argument diswades and opposes him, then forsakes him.*

Now Morn her rosie steps in th' Eastern Clime
Advancing, sow'd the earth with Orient Pearle,
When *Adam* wak't, so customd, for his sleep
Was Aerie light from pure digestion bred,
5 And temperat vapors bland, which th' only sound
Of leaves and fuming rills, *Aurora's* fan,
Lightly dispers'd, and the shrill Matin Song
Of Birds on every bough; so much the more
His wonder was to find unwak'nd *Eve*
10 With Tresses discompos'd, and glowing Cheek,
As through unquiet rest: he on his side
Leaning half-rais'd, with looks of cordial Love
Hung over her enamour'd, and beheld
Beautie, which whether waking or asleep,
15 Shot forth peculiar Graces; then with voice
Milde, as when *Zephyrus* on *Flora* breathes,
Her hand soft touching, whisperd thus. Awake
My fairest, my espous'd, my latest found,
Heav'n's last best gift, my ever new delight,
20 Awake, the morning shines, and the fresh field
Calls us, we lose the prime, to mark how spring
Our tended Plants, how blows the Citron Grove,
What drops the Myrrhe, and what the balmie Reed,
How Nature paints her colours, how the Bee
25 Sits on the Bloom extracting liquid sweet.
Such whispering wak'd her, but with startl'd eye
On *Adam*, whom imbracing, thus she spake.
O Sole in whom my thoughts find all repose,
My Glorie, my Perfection, glad I see
30 Thy face, and Morn return'd, for I this Night,

I 3

Such

THE ARGUMENT. The collation of the Argument only is 1674, 1668, and 1669.

21 *diswades*] *diffuades*] In all 1674 copies examined a space work-up appears between *ment* and *diswades*

THE TEXT. 2 earth] Earth 4 light] light, The comma seems, if not entirely necessary, at least not out of place here. 5 only]] The first syllable is stressed. 23 and] &
24 colours, how] No space in any copy examined. 30 for] The o is faint in many copies examined.

118 *Paradise Lost.* Book V.

- Such night till this I never pass'd, have dream'd,
 If dream'd, not as I oft am wont, of thee,
 Works of day pass't, or morrows next designe,
 But of offence and trouble, which my mind
 35 Knew never till this irksom night ; methought
 Close at mine ear one call'd me forth to walk
 With gentle voice, I thought it thine ; it said,
 Why sleepst thou *Eve*? now is the pleasant time,
 The cool, the silent, save where silence yields
 40 To the night-warbling Bird, that now awake
 Tunes sweetest his love-labor'd song ; now reignes
 Full Orb'd the Moon, and with more pleasing light
 Shadowie sets off the face of things ; in vain,
 If none regard ; Heav'n wakes with all his eyes,
 45 Whom to behold but thee, Natures desire,
 In whose sight all things joy, with ravishment
 Attracted by thy beauty still to gaze.
 I rose as at thy call, but found thee not ;
 To find thee I directed then my walk ;
 50 And on, methought, alone I pass'd through ways
 That brought me on a sudden to the Tree
 Of interdicted Knowledge : fair it seem'd,
 Much fairer to my Fancie then by day :
 And as I wondring lookt, beside it stood
 55 One shap'd and wing'd like one of those from Heav'n
 By us oft seen ; his dewie locks distill'd
Ambrosia; on that Tree he also gaz'd ;
 And O fair Plant, said he, with fruit surcharg'd,
 Deigns none to ease thy load and taste thy sweet,
 60 Nor God, nor Man ; is Knowledge so despis'd ?
 Or envie, or what reserve forbids to taste ?
 Forbid who will, none shall from me withhold
 Longer thy offerd good, why else set here ?
 This said he paus'd not, but with venturous Arme

He

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent battered period. 31 pass'd,]] 33 pass't,]] Notice these two slightly different forms of the same word within two lines of each other. 44 regard;]] The top element of the semicolon is faint in all 1674 copies examined. 54 lookt,]] The comma is faint in all 1674 copies examined. 55 shap'd] Although so spaced in all 1674 copies examined, none showed even a trace of the apostrophe here. and] & 57 *Ambrosia*;] Ambrofia; If we can reason from lines 962, 965, 966, 967, and 1002 in Book 2 in which 1674 has printed in italic type those personifications encountered by Satan in Chaos, Milton or the printer tried to get all proper names italicized in 1674, and in general succeeded, although the name *Satan* in roman type occasionally slipped by his readers and the compositor. See note to Book 1:271. The use of italics here is much more significant for understanding what happened or was intended to happen elsewhere than this simple and to us almost valueless change in this line.

Book V. *Paradise Lost.* 119

- 65 He pluckt, he tasted ; mee damp horror chil'd
 At such bold words voucht with a deed so bold :
 But he thus overjoy'd, O Fruit Divine,
 Sweet of thy self, but much more sweet thus cropt,
 Forbidd'n here, it seems, as onely fit
- 70 For God's, yet able to make Gods of Men :
 And why not Gods of Men, since good, the more
 Communicated, more abundant growes,
 The Author not impair'd, but honourd more ?
 Here, happie Creature, fair Angelic *Eve*,
- 75 Partake thou also ; happie though thou art,
 Happier thou mayst be, worthier canst not be :
 Taste this, and be henceforth among the Gods
 Thy self a Goddess, not to Earth confind,
 But somtimes in the Air, as wee, somtimes
- 80 Ascend to Heav'n, by merit thine, and see
 What life the Gods live there, and such live thou.
 So saying, he drew nigh, and to me held,
 Even to my mouth of that same fruit held part
 Which he had pluckt ; the pleasant favourie smell
- 85 So quick'nd appetite, that I, methought,
 Could not but taste. Forthwith up to the Clouds
 With him I flew, and underneath beheld
 The Earth outstretcht immense, a prospect wide
 And various : wondring at my flight and change
- 90 To this high exaltation ; suddenly
 My Guide was gon, and I, me thought, sunk down,
 And fell asleep ; but O how glad I wak'd
 To find this but a dream ! Thus *Eve* her Night
 Related, and thus *Adam* answerd sad.
- 95 Best Image of my self and dearer half,
 The trouble of thy thoughts this night in sleep
 Affects me equally ; nor can I like
 This uncouth dream, of evil sprung I fear ;

I 4

Yer

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 69 onely]] The first vowel is long and the first syllable stressed. 70 God's,] Gods, 81 there,]] The comma is faint in most 1674 copies examined.

120 *Paradise Lost.* Book V.

Yet evil whence? in thee can harbour none,
 100 Created pure. But know that in the Soule
 Are many lesser Faculties that serve
 Reason as chief; among these Fansie next
 Her office holds; of all external things,
 Which the five watchful Senses represent,
 105 She forms Imaginations, Aerie shapes,
 Which Reason joyning or disjoyning, frames
 All what we affirm or what deny, and call
 Our knowledge or opinion; then retires
 Into her private Cell when Nature rests.
 110 Oft in her absence mimic Fansie wakes
 To imitate her; but misjoyning shapes,
 Wilde work produces oft, and most in dreams,
 Ill matching words and deeds long past or late.
 115 Som such resemblances methinks I find
 Of our last Eevnings talk, in this thy dream,
 But with addition strange; yet be not sad.
 Evil into the mind of God or Man
 May come and go, so unapprov'd, and leave
 120 No spot or blame behind: Which gives me hope
 That what in sleep thou didst abhor to dream,
 Waking thou never wilt consent to do.
 Be not disheart'nd then, nor cloud those looks
 That wont to be more chearful and serene
 Then when fair Morning first smiles on the World,
 125 And let us to our fresh imployments rise
 Among the Groves, the Fountains, and the Flours
 That open now thir choicest bosom'd smells
 Reserv'd from night, and kept for thee in store.
 So cheard he his fair Spouse, and she was cheard,
 130 But silently a gentle tear let fall
 From either eye, and wip'd them with her haire;
 Two other precious drops that ready stood,

Each

121 do.] do:\do:\do. 1674 follows state 3 of 1667, Signature Q verso. 127 bosom'd] The first o is broken in all copies examined.

Book V. *Paradise Lost.* 121

- Each in thir Chrystral sluce, hee ere they fell
 Kiss'd as the gracious signs of sweet remorse
 135 And pious awe, that feard to have offended.
 So all was cleard, and to the Field they haste.
 But first from under shadie arborous roof,
 Soon as they forth were come to open sight
 Of day-spring, and the Sun, who scarce up risen
 140 With wheels yet hov'ring o're the Ocean brim,
 Shot paralel to the earth his dewie ray,
 Discovering in wide Lantskip all the East
 Of Paradise and *Edens* happie Plains,
 Lowly they bow'd adoring, and began
 145 Thir Orisons, each Morning duly paid
 In various style, for neither various style
 Nor holy rapture wanted they to praife
 Thir Maker, in fit strains pronounc't or sung
 Unmeditated, such prompt eloquence
 150 Flowd from thir lips, in Prose or numerous Verse,
 More tuneable then needed Lute or Harp
 To add more sweetness, and they thus began.
 These are thy glorious works, Parent of good,
 Almighty, thine this universal Frame,
 155 Thus wondrous fair; thy self how wondrous then!
 Unspeakable, who sitst above these Heavens
 To us invisible or dimly seen
 In these thy lowest works, yet these declare
 Thy goodness beyond thought, and Power Divine:
 160 Speak yee who best can tell, ye Sons of light,
 Angels, for yee behold him, and with songs
 And choral symphonies, Day without Night,
 Circle his Throne rejoicing, yee in Heav'n,
 On Earth joyn all ye Creatures to extoll
 165 Him first, him last, him midst, and without end.
 Fairest of Starrs, last in the train of Night,

If

The page was set from 1667 copy containing state 3 of Signature Q verso. Running Head. V.]
 The broken period found also on pages 89, 107, 171, and 185. 133 Chrystral] chryftal (all three states of 1667) hee] he\he\hee 150 thir] their\thir\thir 151 Harp] Harp\Harp\Harp
 153 works,] works\works\works, Parent] The t is faint in all copies examined. 154 thine]
 The dot of the i is entirely lacking in most copies examined and barely prints in others.
 Frame,] frame,\Frame,\Frame, 156 Heavens] Heavens\Heavens,\Heavens
 160 Speak yee] Speak ye\Speak ye\Speak yee Sons] sons\Sons\Sons 161 yee] ye\ye\yee
 164 ye] yee (all three states of 1667) The word seems to be unstressed, and the 1674 reading corrected from the stressed form used in 1667.

122 *Paradise Lost.* Book. V.

- If better thou belong not to the dawn,
 Sure pledge of day, that crownst the smiling Morn
 With thy bright Circlet, praise him in thy Spheare
 170 While day arises, that sweet hour of Prime.
 Thou Sun, of this great World both Eye and Soule,
 Acknowledge him thy Greater, sound his praise
 In thy eternal course, both when thou climb'st,
 And when high Noon hast gained, and when thou fall'st.
 175 Moon, that now meet'st the orient Sun, now fly'st
 With the fixt Starrs, fixt in thir Orb that flies,
 And yee five other wandring Fires that move
 In mystic Dance not without Song, resound
 His praise, who out of Darknes call'd up Light.
 180 Aire, and ye Elements the eldest birth
 Of Natures Womb, that in quaternion run
 Perpetual Circle, multiform; and mix
 And nourish all things, let your ceasless change
 Varie to our great Maker still new praise.
 185 Ye Mists and Exhalations that now rise
 From Hill or steaming Lake, duskie or grey,
 Till the Sun paint your fleecie skirts with Gold,
 In honour to the Worlds great Author rise,
 Whether to deck with Clouds the uncoloured skie,
 190 Or wet the thirstie Earth with falling showers,
 Rising or falling still advance his praise.
 His praise ye Winds, that from four Quarters blow,
 Breathe soft or loud; and wave your tops, ye Pines,
 With every Plant, in sign of Worship wave.
 195 Fountains and yee, that warble, as ye flow,
 Melodious murmurs, warbling tune his praise.
 Joyn voices all ye living Souls, ye Birds,
 That singing up to Heaven Gate ascend,
 Bear on your wings and in your notes his praise;
 200 Yee that in Waters glide, and yee that walk

The

173 climb st,] So spaced in all 1674 copies examined, the apostrophe was entirely lacking in most of them. 174 and] & fallst.] The recurrent battered period. 186 duskie] duskie (ligature) 188 honour] The n is battered in all copies examined. 189 skie,] skie, (ligature) 193 Breathe] Breath Corrected according to 1668 *Errata*.

Book V. *Paradise Lost.* 123

- The Earth, and stately tread, or lowly creep ;
 Witness if I be silent, Morn or Eeven,
 To Hill, or Valley, Fountain, or fresh shade
 Made vocal by my Song, and taught his praise.
 205 Hail universal Lord, be bounteous still
 To give us onely good ; and if the night
 Have gathered aught of evil or conceald,
 Disperse it, as now light dispels the dark.
 So pray'd they innocent, and to thir thoughts
 210 Firm peace recoverd soon and wonted calm.
 On to thir mornings rural work they haste
 Among sweet dewes and flours ; where any row
 Of Fruit-trees overwoodie reachd too farr
 Thir pamperd boughes, and needed hands to check
 215 Fruitless imbraces : or they led the Vine
 To wed her Elm ; she spous'd about him twines
 Her mariageable arms, and with her brings
 Her dowr th' adopted Clusters, to adorn
 His barren leaves. Them thus imploid beheld
 220 With pittie Heav'n's high King, and to him call'd
Raphael, the sociable Spirit, that deign'd
 To travel with *Tobias*, and secur'd
 His marriage with the seaventimes-wedded Maid.
Raphael, said hee, thou hear'st what stir on Earth
 225 *Satan* from Hell scap't through the darksom Gulf
 Hath raisd in Paradise, and how disturb'd
 This night the human pair, how he designes
 In them at once to ruin all mankind.
 Go therefore, half this day as friend with friend
 230 Converse with *Adam*, in what Bowre or shade
 Thou find'st him from the heat of Noon retir'd,
 To respit his day-labour with repast,
 Or with repose ; and such discourse bring on,
 As may advise him of his happie state,

Happiness

206 onely]] The first syllable is stressed. 229-231 Note the break in alignment of type in the last word in each of the three lines.

124 **Paradise Lost.** Book V.

- 235 Happiness in his power left free to will,
Left to his own free Will, his Will though free,
Yet mutable; whence warne him to beware
He swerve not too secure: tell him withall
His danger, and from whom, what enemie
240 Late fallen himself from Heav'n, is plotting now
The fall of others from like state of blis;
By violence, no, for that shall be withstood,
But by deceit and lies; this let him know,
Least wilfully transgressing he pretend
245 Surprisal, unadmonisht, unforewarnd.
So spake th' Eternal Father, and fulfillld
All Justice: nor delaide the winged Saint
After his charge receivd; but from among
Thousand Celestial Ardors, where he stood
250 Vaild with his gorgeous wings, up springing light
Flew through the midst of Heav'n; th' angelic Quires
On each hand parting, to his speed gave way
Through all th' Empyreal road; till at the Gate
Of Heav'n arriv'd, the gate self-opend wide
255 On golden Hinges turning, as by work
Divine the sov'ran Architect had fram'd.
From hence, no cloud, or, to obstruct his sight,
Starr interpos'd, however small he sees,
Not unconform to other shining Globes,
260 Earth and the Gard'n of God, with Cedars crownd
Above all Hills. As when by night the Glass
Of Galileo, less assur'd, observes
Imagind Lands and Regions in the Moon:
Or Pilot from amidst the *Cyclades*
265 *Delos* or *Samos* first appeering kenns
A cloudy spot. Down thither prone in flight
He speeds, and through the vast Ethereal Skie
Sailes between worlds and worlds, with steddie wing
Now

The page was set from a 1667 copy containing state 3 of Signature Q verso.

240 fallen] fal'n\falln\falln Heav'n,] Heaven,\Heaven,\Heav'n,

251 Quires] quires\Quires\Quires 257 In 1674 this line is not indented. In 1667, states 1 and 2,

the line is indented. It was not indented in 1667 state 3. cloud,) cloud\cloud\cloud,

258 interpos'd] interposd,\interpos'd,\interpos'd, however] how ever\however\however

259 unconform] unconforme\unconform\unconform 261 all] The second 'l' seems to be I probably because of foul case. 268 and] &

Book V. *Paradise Lost.* 125

- Now on the polar windes, then with quick Fann
 270 Winnows the buxom Air ; till within soare
 Of Towring Eagles, to all the Fowles he seems
 A *Phænix*, gaz'd by all, as that sole Bird
 When to enshrine his reliques in the Sun's
 Bright Temple, to *Ægyptian Theb's* he flies.
 275 At once on th' Eastern cliff of Paradise
 He lights, and to his proper shape returns
 A Seraph wingd ; six wings he wore, to shade
 His lineaments Divine ; the pair that clad
 Each shoulder broad, came mantling o're his brest
 280 With regal Ornament ; the middle pair
 Girt like a Starrie Zone his waste, and round
 Skirted his loines and thighes with downie Gold
 And colours dipt in Heav'n ; the third his feet
 Shaddowd from either heele with featherd maile
 285 Skie-tinctur'd grain. Like *Maia's* son he stood,
 And shook his Plumes, that Heav'nly fragrance fill'd
 The circuit wide. Strait knew him all the Bands
 Of Angels under watch ; and to his state,
 And to his message high in honour rise ;
 290 For on som message high they guesd him bound.
 Thir glittering Tents he pasd, and now is come
 Into the blissful field, through Groves of Myrrhe,
 And flouring Odours, Cassia, Nard, and Balme ;
 A Wildernes of sweets ; for Nature here
 295 Wantond as in her prime, and plaid at will
 Her Virgin Fancies, pouring forth more sweet,
 Wilde above Rule or Art ; enormous blifs.
 Him through the spicie Forrest onward com
Adam discernd, as in the dore he sat
 300 Of his coole Bowre, while now the mounted Sun
 Shot down direct his fervid Raies to warme
 Earths inmost womb, more warmth then *Ad.m* needs,
 And

The page was set from a 1667 copy containing state 3 of Signature Q verso.

269 *Fann*] *Fanne**Fann**Fann* 271 *Fowles*] *fowles**Fowles**Fowles* 272 *Phænix*,]] The ligature is æ in both 1674 and 1667. 273 *Sun's*] *Sunn's**Sun's**Sun's*
 277 *Seraph*] *Seraph**Seraph**Seraph* State 1 of 1667 is another instance of the compositor's intent to have proper names set in italics. The word 'Seraph' was originally taken by the 1667 compositor as a proper name, then his italics were changed to roman. 278 *His*] The H is broken in all copies examined. 287 *Bands*] *bands**bands**Bands* 292 *blissful*] *blisful**blissful**blissful*
 297 *Rule*] rule (all three states of 1667) *Art*;] *art*;*art*;*Art*; *blifs.*] *bliffe.**bliss.**blifs.*
 301 *Raies*] *raies*,*Raies*,*Raies* 302 *needs*;] *needs**needs*;*needs*;

126 *Paradise Lost.* Book V.

And *Eve* within, due at her hour prepar'd
 For dinner favourie fruits, of taste to please
 305 True appetite, and not disrelish thirst
 Of nectarous draughts between, from milkie stream,
 Berrie or Grape : to whom thus *Adam* call'd.

Haste hither *Eve*, and worth thy sight behold
 Eastward among those Trees, what glorious shape
 310 Comes this way moving ; seems another Morn
 Ris'n on mid-noon ; som great behest from Heav'n
 To us perhaps he brings, and will voutsafe
 This day to be our Guest. But goe with speed,
 And what thy stores contain, bring forth and poure

315 Abundance, fit to honour and receive
 Our Heav'ly stranger ; well we may afford
 Our givers thir own gifts, and large bestow
 From large bestowd, where Nature multiplies
 Her fertil growth, and by disburd'ning grows
 320 More fruitful, which instructs us not to spare.

To whom thus *Eve*. *Adam*, earths hallowd mould,
 Of God inspir'd, small store will serve, where store,
 All seasons, ripe for use hangs on the stalk ;
 Save what by frugal storing firmness gains
 325 To nourish, and superfluous moist consumes :
 But I will haste and from each bough and break,
 Each Plant and jaciest Gourd will pluck such choice
 To entertain our Angel guest, as hee
 Beholding shall confess that here on Earth
 330 God hath dispenst his bounties as in Heav'n.

So saying, with dispatchful looks in haste
 She turns, on hospitable thoughts intent
 What choice to chuse for delicacie best,
 What order, so contriv'd as not to mix
 335 Tastes, not well joynd, inelegant, but bring
 Taste after taste upheld with kindliest change,

Bestirs.

305 *disrelish*] The *h* is broken in all copies examined. 327 and] & 331 with] The curve of the *h* is broken in all copies examined.

Book V. *Paradise Lost.* 127

- 338 Bestirs her then, and from each tender stalk
 Whatever Earth all-bearing Mother yields
 In *India* East or West, or middle shoare
 340 In *Pontus* or the *Punic* Coast, or where
Alcinous reign'd, fruit of all kindes, in coate,
 Rough, or smooth rin'd, or bearded husk, or shell
 She gathers, Tribute large, and on the board
 Heaps with unsparing hand ; for drink the Grape
 345 She crushes, inoffensive moust, and meathes
 From many a berrie, and from sweet kernels prest
 She tempers dulcet creams, nor these to hold
 Wants her fit vessels pure, then strews the ground
 With Rose and Odours from the shrub unfum'd.
 350 Mean while our Primitive great Sire, to meet
 His god-like Guest, walks forth, without more train
 Accompani'd then with his own compleat
 Perfections, in himself was all his state,
 More solemn then the tedious pomp that waits
 355 On Princes, when thir rich Retinue long
 Of Horses led, and Grooms besmeard with Gold
 Dazles the croud, and sets them all agape.
 Neerer his presence *Adam* though not awd,
 Yet with submiss approach and reverence meek,
 360 As to a superior Nature, bowing low,
 Thus said. Native of Heav'n, for other place
 None can then Heav'n such glorious shape contain ;
 Since by descending from the Thrones above,
 Those happie places thou hast deign'd awhile
 365 To want, and honour these, voutsafe with us
 Two onely, who yet by sov'ran gift posses
 This spacious ground, in yonder shadie Bowre
 To rest, and what the Garden choicest bears
 To sit and taste, till this meridian heat
 370 Be over, and the Sun more coole decline.

Whom

338 yields] yeilds 342 husk,] husk, (ligature) 351 god-like] The hyphen is very faint in many copies examined. Guest,] The st ligature is broken in all copies examined. 355 thir]] Should this word be stressed? 366 onely,]] The first syllable is stressed. 367 ground,]] The comma is faint in all 1674 copies examined.

128 *Paradise Lost.* Book V.

Whom thus the Angelic Vertue answerd milde.
Adam, I therefore came, nor art thou such
 Created, or such place hast here to dwell,
 As may not oft invite, though Spirits of Heav'n
 375 To visit thee ; lead on then where thy Bowre
 Oreshades ; for these mid-hours, till Eevning rise
 I have at will. So to the Silvan Lodge
 They came, that like *Pomona's* Arbour smil'd
 With flourets deck't and fragrant smells ; but *Eve*
 380 Undeckt, save with her self more lovely fair
 Then Wood-Nymph, or the fairest Goddess feign'd
 Of three that in Mount *Ida* naked strove,
 Stood to entertain her guest from Heav'n ; no vaile
 Shee needed, Vertue-proof, no thought infirme
 385 Alterd her cheek. On whom the Angel *Haile*
 Bestowd, the holy salutation us'd
 Long after to blest *Marit*, second *Eve*.
 Haile Mother of Mankind, whose fruitful Womb
 Shall fill the World more numerous with thy Sons
 390 Then with these various fruits the Trees of God
 Have heap'd this Table. Rais'd of grassie terf
 Thir Table was, and mossie seats had round,
 And on her ample Square from side to side
 All *Autumn* pil'd, though *Spring* and *Autumn* here
 395 Danc'd hand in hand. A while discourse they hold ;
 No fear left Dinner coole ; when thus began
 Our Author. Heav'nly stranger, please to taste
 These bounties which our Nourisher, from whom
 All perfet good unmeasur'd out, descends,
 400 To us for food and for delight hath caus'd
 The Earth to yield ; unsavourie food perhaps
 To spiritual Natures ; only this I know,
 That one Celestial Father gives to all.

To

378 *Pomona's*] *Pomona's* 395 hold;]] In 1674 the top element of the semicolon is battered but present in all copies. 396 Dinner] The second n is broken in all copies examined.
 401 yield;] yeild; Catchword. To] As on pages 112, 136, 280, and 300 this page carries only thirty-three lines of text and the catchword is two line spaces below the bottom line of the text.

Book V. *Paradise Lost.* 129

- To whom the Angel. Therefore what he gives
 405 (Whose praise be ever sung) to man in part
 Spiritual, may of purest Spirits be found
 No ingrateful food : and food alike those pure
 Intelligential substances require
 As doth your Rational ; and both contain
 410 Within them every lower facultie
 Of sense, whereby they hear, see, smell, touch, taste,
 Tasting concoct, digest, assimilate,
 And corporeal to incorporeal turn.
 For know, whatever was created, needs
 415 To be sustaint and fed.; of Elements
 The grosler feeds the purer, Earth the Sea,
 Earth and the Sea feed Air, the Air those Fires
 Ethereal, and as lowest first the Moon ;
 Whence in her visage round those spots, unpurg'd
 420 Vapours not yet into her substance turnd.
 Nor doth the Moon no nourishment exhale
 From her moist Continent to higher Orbes.
 The Sun that light imparts to all, receives
 From all his alimental recompence
 425 In humid exhalations, and at Even
 Sups with the Ocean : though in Heav'n the Trees
 Of life ambrosial frutage bear, and vines
 Yield Nectar, though from off the boughs each Morn
 We brush mellifluous Dewes, and find the ground
 430 Cover'd with pearly grain : yet God hath here
 Varied his bounty so with new delights,
 As may compare with Heaven ; and to taste
 Think not I shall be nice. So down they sat,
 And to thir viands fell, nor seemingly
 435 The Angel, nor in mist, the common glofs
 Of Theologians, but with keen dispatch
 Of real hunger, and concoctive heate

K

To

404 he]] Is this word stressed? 416 Earth] earth Sea,] sea, 428 Yield] Yeild

130 **Paradise Lost.** Book V.

- To transubstantiate; what redounds, transpires
Through Spirits with ease; nor wonder; if by fire
440 Of footy coal the Empiric Alchimist
Can turn, or holds it possible to turn
Metals of drossiest Ore to perfet Gold
As from the Mine. Mean while at Table *Eve*
Ministerd naked, and thir flowing cups
445 With pleasant liquors crown'd: O innocence
Deserving Paradise! if ever, then,
Then had the Sons of God excuse to have bin
Enamour'd at that sight; but in those hearts
Love unlibidinous reign'd, nor jealousie
450 Was understood, the injur'd Lovers Hell.
Thus when with meats and drinks they had suffic'd,
Not burd'nd Nature, sudden mind arose
In *Adam*, not to let th' occasion pass
Given him by this great Conference to know
455 Of things above his World, and of thir being
Who dwell in Heav'n, whose excellence he saw
Transcend his own so farr, whose radiant forms
Divine effulgence, whose high Power so far
Exceeded human, and his wary speech
460 Thus to th' Empyreal Minister he fram'd.
Inhabitant with God, now know I well
Thy favour, in this honour done to man,
Under whose lowly roof thou hast voutsaf't
To enter, and these earthly fruits to taste,
465 Food not of Angels, yet accepted so,
As that more willingly thou couldst not seem
At Heav'n's high feasts to have fed: yet what compare?
To whom the winged Hierarch repli'd.
O *Adam*, one Almighty is, from whom
470 All things proceed, and up to him return,
If not deprav'd from good, created all

Such

448 fight;]] The 1674 recurrent worn semicolon with the top element barely printing.
451 and] & 455 World,] The W is too low in all copies examined.

Book V. *Paradise Lost.* 131

- Such to perfection, one first matter all,
 Indu'd with various forms various degrees
 Of substance, and in things that live, of life;
 475 But more refin'd, more spiritous, and pure,
 As neerer to him plac't or neerer tending
 Each in thir several active Sphears assynd,
 Till body up to spirit work, in bounds
 Proportiond to each kind. So from the root
 480 Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves
 More aerie, last the bright consummate floure
 Spirits odorous breathes: Hours and thir fruit
 Mans nourishment, by gradual scale sublim'd
 To vital Spirits aspire, to animal,
 485 To intellectual, give both life and sense,
 Fanlike and understanding, whence the Soule
 Reason receives, and reason is her being,
 Discursive, or Intuitive; discourse
 Is oftest yours, the latter most is ours,
 490 Differing but in degree, of kind the same.
 Wonder not then, what God for you saw good
 If I refuse not, but convert, as you,
 To proper substance, time may come when men
 With Angels may participate, and find
 495 No inconvenient Diet, nor too light Fare:
 And from these corporal nutriments perhaps
 Your bodies may at last turn all to Spirit,
 Improv'd by tract of time, and wingd ascend
 Ethereal, as wee, or may at choice
 500 Here or in Heav'ny Paradises dwell;
 If ye be found obedient, and retain
 Unalterably firm his love entire
 Whose progenie you are. Mean while enjoy
 Your fill what happiness this happie state
 505 Can comprehend, incapable of more.

K 2

To

477 Each] The c is very faint in most copies examined. 483 nourishment,]] The comma is clear in some 1674 copies and very faint in others. 486 Soule] soule 493 subftance;]] Although the semicolon is very faint in its top or upper element in many 1674 copies, it is the same recurrent worn semicolon that is used apparently many times throughout the book, and is not a comma. It was set as a semicolon to follow the semicolon on 1667.

132 *Paradise Lost.* Book V.

- To whom the Patriarch of mankind repli'd,
 O favourable spirit, propitious guest,
 Well hast thou taught the way that might direct
 Our knowledge, and the scale of Nature set
 510 From center to circumference, whereon
 In contemplation of created things
 By steps we may ascend to God. But say,
 What meant that caution joind, if ye be found
Obedient? can we want obedience then
 515 To him, or possibly his love desert
 Who formd us from the dust, and plac'd us here
 Full to the utmost measure of what bliss
 Human desires can seek or apprehend?
 To whom the Angel. Son of Heav'n and Earth,
 520 Attend: That thou art happy, owe to God;
 That thou continu'st such, owe to thy self,
 That is, to thy obedience; therein stand.
 This was that caution giv'n thee; be advis'd.
 God made thee perfect, not immutable;
 525 And good he made thee, but to persevere
 He left it in thy power, ordain'd thy will
 By nature free, not over-rul'd by Fate
 Inextricable, or strict necessity;
 Our voluntarie service he requires,
 530 Not our necessitated, such with him
 Findes no acceptance, nor can find, for how
 Can hearts, not free, be tri'd whether they serve
 Willing or no, who will but what they must
 By Destinie, and can no other choose?
 535 My self and all th' Angelic Host that stand
 In sight of God enthron'd, our happy state
 Hold, as you yours, while our obedience holds;
 On other surety none; freely we serve,
 Because wee freely love, as in our will

To

506 repli'd,] repli'd. Probably should be period, and 1674 comma arose from foul case.
 507 propitious] The s is out of alignment in all copies examined. 514 *Obedient?*] *Obedient?*
 we] wee The word seems to me to be unstressed. 520 God;]] In my volume 2, page 391, state
 2, Book 5:520 has only the lower element of the semicolon here due to an accident of processing.
 Both 1667 states (line numbers) carry a semicolon here. See correction at the end of my volume 4.
 524 perfet,] The t is wrong font in all 1674 copies examined. 538 serve,] serve. The comma
 seems to be correct here.

Book V. *Paradise Lost.* 133

- 540 To love or not ; in this we stand or fall :
 And som are fall'n, to disobedience fall'n,
 And so from Heav'n to deepest Hell ; O fall
 From what high state of bliss into what woe !
 To whom our great Progenitor. Thy words
- 545 Attentive, and with more delighted eare,
 Divine instracter, I have heard, then when
 Cherubic Songs by night from neighbouring Hills
 Aereal Music send : nor knew I not
 To be both will and deed created free ;
 550 Yet that we never shall forget to love
 Our maker , and obey him whose command
 Single, is yet so just, my constant thoughts
 Assur'd me, and still assure : though what thou tellst
 Hath past in Heav'n, som doubt within me move,
 555 But more desire to hear, if thou consent,
 The full relation, which must needs be strange,
 Worthy of Sacred silence to be heard ;
 And we have yet large day, for scarce the Sun
 Hath finisht half his journey , and scarce begins
 560 His other half in the great Zone of Heav'n.
 Thus *Adam* made request, and *Raphael*
 After short pause assenting, thus began.
 High matter thou injoinst me, O prime of men,
 Sad task and hard, for how shall I relate
 565 To human sense th' invisible exploits
 Of warring Spirits ; how without remorse
 The ruin of so many glorious once
 And perfet while they stood ; how last unfould
 The secrets of another world, perhaps
 570 Not lawful to reveal ? yet for thy good
 This is dispenc't, and what surmounts the reach
 Of human sense, I shall delineate so,
 By lik'ning spiritual to corporal forms,

K 3

As

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 545 eare,] eare The comma seems to be needed. 548 fend:] Italic colon. 553 me,] me The comma seems to be needed. 556 must] The ft ligature is faint in all copies examined. 567 glorious] The recurrent faint s

134 *Paradise Lost.* Book V.

- As may express them best, though what if Earth
 575 Be but the shaddow of Heav'n, and things therein
 Each to other like, more then on earth is thought ?
 As yet this world was not, and *Chaos* wilde
 Reignd where these Heav'ns now rowl, where Earth
 Upon her Center pois'd, when on a day (now rests
 580 (For time, though in Eternitie, applid
 To motion, measures all things durable
 By present, past, and future) on such day
 As Heav'ns great Year brings forth, th' Empyreal Host
 Of Angels by Imperial summons call'd,
 585 Innumerable before th' Almightyes Throne
 Forthwith from all the ends of Heav'n appeerd
 Under thir Hierarchs in orders bright
 Ten thousand thousand Ensignes high advanc'd,
 Standards, and Gonfalons twixt Van and Reare
 590 Streame in the Aire, and for distinction serve
 Of Hierarchies, of Orders, and Degrees ;
 Or in thir glittering Tissues bear imblaz'd
 Holy Memorials, acts of Zeale and Love
 Recorded eminent. Thus when in Orbis
 595 Of circuit inexpressible they stood,
 Orb within Orb, the Father infinite,
 By whom in bliss imbosom'd sat the Son,
 Amidst as from a flaming Mount, whose top
 Brightnes had made invisible, thus spake.
 600 Hear all ye Angels, Progenie of Light,
 Thrones, Dominations, Prinedoms, Vertues, Powers,
 Hear my Decree, which unrevok't shall stand.
 This day I have begot whom I declare
 My onely Son, and on this holy Hill
 605 Him have anointed, whom ye now behold
 At my right hand ; your Head I him appoint ;
 And by my Self have sworn to him shall bow

All

580 *time,*] Time, 589 *twixt*] The second t is very faint in all copies examined. 595 *circuit*] The second c is very faint in all copies examined. 598 *Amidst*] A midst whoseop Corrected according to 1668 *Errata*.

In order to keep 1674 page 135 as a recto and to have the reproduction from 1667 opposite it, this preceding recto is used for a sort of introduction. On its verso appears the reproduction from 1667, originally printed verso, and the 1674 page 135 follows as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.

Book 5. Paradise lost.

- | | |
|-----|---|
| 625 | Eccentric, intervolv'd, yet regular
Then most, when most irregular they seem :
And in thir motions harmonie Divine
So smooths her charming tones, that Gods own ear
Listens delighted. Eevning approachd
(For we have also our Eevning and our Morn,
We ours for change delectable, not need) |
| 630 | 630 Forthwith from dance to sweet repast they turn
Desirous, all in Circles as they stood,
Tables are set, and on a sudden pil'd
With Angels Food, and rubied Nectar flows :
In Pearl, in Diamond, and massie Gold, |
| 635 | Fruit of delicious Vines, the growth of Heav'n.
They eat, they drink, and with refection sweet
Are fill'd, before th' all-bounteous King, who
With copious hand, rejoicing in thir joy. (showrd
Now when ambrosial Night with Clouds exhal'd |
| 640 | 640 From that high mount of God, whence light & shade
Spring both, the face of brightest Heav'n had changd
To grateful Twilight (for Night comes not there
In darker veile) and roseat Dews dispos'd
All but the unsleeping eyes of God to rest, |
| 645 | Wide over all the Plain, and wider farr
Then all this globous Earth in Plain outspred,
(Such are the Courts of God) Th' Angelic throng
Disperst in Bands and Files thir Camp extend |
| 650 | By living Streams among the Trees of Life,
Pavilions numberless, and sudden reard,
Celestial Tabernacles, where they slept (course
Fannd with coole Winds, save those who in thir
Melodious Hymns about the sovran Throne
Alternate all night long : but not so wak'd |

Satan,

Book V. *Paradise Lost.* 135

- All knees in Heav'n, and shall confess him Lord :
 Under his great Vice-gerent Reign abide
 610 United as one individual Soule
 For ever happie : him who disobeys
 Mee disobeys, breaks union, and that day
 Cast out from God and blessed vision, falls
 Into utter darkness, deep ingulft, his place
 615 Ordaind without redemption, without end.
 So spake th' Omnipotent, and with his words
 All seemd well pleas'd, all seem'd, but were not all
 That day, as other solemn dayes, they spent
 In song and dance about the sacred Hill,
 620 Mystical dance, which yonder starrie Spheare
 Of Planets and of fixt in all her Wheeles
 Resembles nearest, mazes intricate,
 Eccentric, intervolv'd, yet regular
 Then most, when most irregular they seem,
 625 And in thir motions harmonie Divine
 So smooths her charming tones, that Gods own ear
 Listens delighted. Eevning now approach'd
 (For wee have also our Eevning and our Morn,
 Wee ours for change delectable, not need)
 630 Forthwith from dance to sweet repast they turn
 Desirous ; all in Circles as they stood,
 Tables are set, and on a sudden pil'd
 With Angels Food, and rubied Nectar flows
 In Pearl, in Diamond, and massie Gold,
 635 Fruit of delicious Vines, the growth of Heav'n.
 On flours repos'd, and with fresh flourets crownd,
 They eat, they drink, and in communion sweet
 Quaff immortalitie and joy, secure
 Of surfeit where full measure onely bounds
 640 Excess, before th' all bounteous King, who showrd
 With copious hand, rejoicing in thir joy.

K 4

Now

608 Lord:] Lord, \Lord: 616 Indented in 1674. In state 1, 1667, the line is not indented, but it is indented in state 2, 1667. 617 all] all. The period is needed. 618 solemn] solem
 624 seem,] seem: The comma seems to be an improvement. 627 As printed in 1667, the line is deficient by one syllable. The 1674 insertion of the word now makes the line a pentameter with no other change. approach'd] approachd 628 wee] we Almost certainly stressed, and the 1674 form must be accepted as a change on which Milton probably insisted. 629 Wee] We Again, the word seems to be heavily stressed, and the change, from Milton's standpoint, desirable. 631 Desirous,] Desirous; The semicolon seems to be an improvement. 633 flows] flows: No punctuation seems to be wanted here. 636 This line was added in 1674. The change in text can better be seen in the 1667 reproduction on the opposite page than described. The change extends into line 640. 638 This line was added in 1674. 639 This line was added in 1674. onely]] The first syllable is stressed. 640 This is line 637 in 1667. 641 This is line 638 in 1667. From this point on to the end of Book 5 the two editions maintain this slight difference in line numbers because of the 1674 insertion here.

136 *Paradise Lost.* Book V.

- Now when ambrosial Night with Clouds exhal'd
 From that high mount of God, whence light & shade
 Spring both, the face of brightest Heav'n had chang'd
 To grateful Twilight (for Night comes not there
 In darker veile) and roseat Dews dispos'd
 Allbut the unsleeping eyes of God to rest,
 Wide over all the Plain, and wider farr
 Then all this globous Earth in Plain out spred,
 (Such are the Courts of God) Th' Angelic throng
 Disperst in Bands and Files thir Camp extend
 By living Streams among the Trees of Life,
 Pavilions numberleſſ, and ſudden reard,
 Celestial Tabernacles, where they ſlept
 Fann'd with coole Winds, ſave thoſe who in thir course
 Melodious Hymns about the ſovran Throne
 Alternate all night long : but not ſo wak'd
Satan, ſo call him now, his former name
 Is heard no more in Heav'n ; he of the firſt,
 If not the firſt Arch-Angel, great in Power,
 In favour and præeminence, yet fraught
 With envie againſt the Son of God, that day
 Honourd by his great Father, and proclaimd
Meffiah King anointed, could not beare
 Through pride that ſight, & thought himſelf impaird.
 Deep malice thence conceiving and diſdain,
 Soon as midnight brought on the duskie houre
 Friendliest to ſleep and silence, he refolv'd
 With all his Legions to diſlodge, and leave
 Unworſhipt, unobey'd the Throne ſupream
 Contemptuous, and his next subordinate
 Awak'ning, thus to him in ſecret ſpake.
Sleepſt thou Companion dear, what ſleep can cloſe
Thy eye-lids ? and rememb'reſt what Decree

Of

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. There is a difference in line numbering by three lines between 1674 and 1667 because of the insertion in 1674 on page 135 of that edition, and this difference continues to the end of Book 5; but no attempt will be made in these notes to provide the correct line numbers from 1667, as no other lines were added, and the difference in numbering is not very great. 649 *out fpred,*] *outfpred,* 659 *more in Heav'n;*] *more Heav'n;* Corrected according to the 1668 *Errata.* 665 &] and 666 and] & 667 *duskie*] *dufkie* (ligature) 670 *ſupream]* The p is faint in all copies examined. 671 *contemptuous,*] The e is battered in all copies examined. Catchword. Of] As on pages 112, 128, 280, and 300 this page carries only thirty-three lines of text and the catchword is two line spaces below the bottom line of the text.

Book V. *Paradise Lost.* 137

- 675 Of yesterday, so late hath past the lips
 Of Heav'n's Almighty. Thou to me thy thoughts
 Wast wont, I mine to thee was wont to impart ;
 Both waking we were one ; how then can now
 Thy sleep dissent ? new Laws thou seeft impos'd ;
- 680 New Laws from him who reigns, new minds may raise
 In us who serve, new Counsels, to debate
 What doubtful may ensue, more in this place
 To utter is not safe. Assemble thou
 Of all those Myriads which we lead the chief ;
- 685 Tell them that by command, ere yet dim Night
 Her shadowie Cloud withdraws, I am to haste,
 And all who under me thir Banners wave,
 Homeward with flying march where we posses
 The Quarters of the North, there to prepare
- 690 Fit entertainment to receive our King
 The great *Messiah*, and his new commands,
 Who speedily through all the Hierarchies
 Intends to pass triumphant, and give Laws.
 So spake the false Arch-Angel, and infus'd
- 695 Bad influence into th' unwarie brest
 Of his Associate ; hee together calls,
 Or several one by one, the Regent Powers,
 Under him Regent, tells, as he was taught,
 That the most High commanding, now ere Night,
- 700 Now ere dim Night had disincumberd Heav'n,
 The great Hierachal Standard was to move ;
 Tells the suggested cause, and casts between
 Ambiguous words and jealousies, to sound
 Or taint integritie ; but all obey'd
- 705 The wonted signal, and superior voice
 Of thir great Potentate ; for great indeed
 His name, and high was his degree in Heav'n ;

His

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. There is a difference in line numbering by three lines between 1674 and 1667 because of the insertion in 1674 on page 135 of that edition, and this difference continues to the end of Book 5; but no attempt will be made in these notes to provide the correct line numbers from 1667, as no other lines were added, and the difference in numbering is not very great. 676 *me*] Stressed. 678 *we*] Stressed. 688 *we*] Stressed. 698 *he*] Stressed. 701 *Hierachal*] The *i* is faint in all copies examined. 706 *thir*] Almost certainly stressed, but the short form is printed in both 1674 and 1667.

138 *Paradise Lost.* Book V.

- His count'nce, as the Morning Starr that guides
 The starrie flock, allur'd them, and with lyes
 710 Drew after him the third part of Heav'ns Host :
 Mean while th' Eternal eye, whose sight discernes
 Abstrusest thoughts, from forth his holy Mount
 And from within the golden Lamps that burne
 Nightly before him, saw without thir light
 715 Rebellion rising, saw in whom, how spred
 Among the sons of Morn, what multitudes
 Were banded to oppose his high Decree ;
 And smiling to his onely Son thus said.
 Son, thou in whom my glory I behold
 720 In full resplendence, Heir of all my might,
 Neerly it now concernes us to be sure
 Of our Omnipotence, and with what Arms
 We mean to hold what anciently we claim
 Of Deitie or Empire, such a foe
 725 Is rising, who intends to erect his Throne
 Equal to ours, throughout the spacious North ;
 Nor so content, hath in his thought to try
 In battel, what our Power is, or our right.
 Let us advise, and to this hazard draw
 730 With speed what force is left, and all employ
 In our defence, lest unawares we lose
 This our high place, our Sanctuarie, our Hill.
 To whom the Son with calm aspect and cleer
 Light'ning Divine, ineffable, serene,
 735 Made answer. Mightie Father, thou thy foes
 Justly hast in derision, and secure
 Laugh'st at thir vain designes and tumults vain,
 Matter to mee of Glory, whom thir hate
 Illustrates, when they see all Regal Power
 740 Giv'n me to quell thir pride, and in event

Know

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. There is a difference in line numbering by three lines between 1674 and 1667 because of the insertion in 1674 on page 135 of that edition, and this difference continues to the end of Book 5; but no attempt will be made in these notes to provide the correct line numbers from 1667, as no other lines were added, and the difference in numbering is not very great. This page was set from state 2 of 1667, Signature S. 713 within] within,\within 718 only]] The first syllable is stressed. 727 try] trie 728 battel,] battel\battel,

Book V. *Paradise Lost.* 139

- Know whether I be dextrous to subdue
 Thy Rebels, or be found the worst in Heav'n.
 So spake the Son, but *Satan* with his Powers
 Far was advanc't on winged speed, an Host
 745 Innumerable as the Starrs of Night,
 Or Starrs of Morning, Dew-drops, which the Sun
 Impearls on every leaf and every flouer.
 Regions they pass'd, the mighty Regencies
 Of Seraphim and Potentates and Thrones
 750 In thir triple Degrees, Regions to which
 All thy Dominion, *Adam*, is no more
 Then what this Garden is to all the Earth,
 And all the Sea, from one entire globose
 Stretcht into Longitude; which having pass'd
 755 At length into the limits of the North.
 They came, and *Satan* to his Royal seat
 High on a Hill, far blazing, as a Mount
 Rais'd on a Mount, with Pyramids and Towns
 From Diamond Quarries hew'n, and Rocks of Gold,
 760 The Palace of great *Lucifer*, (so call
 That Structure in the Dialect of men
 Interpreted) which not long after, he
 Affecting all equality with God,
 In imitation of that Mount whereon
 765 *Messiah* was declar'd in sight of Heav'n,
 The Mountain of the Congregation call'd;
 For thither he assembl'd all his Train,
 Pretending so commanded to consult
 About the great reception of thir King,
 770 Thither to come, and with calumnious Art
 Of counterfeted truth thus held thir ears. (ers,
 Thrones, Dominations, Princedomes, Vertues, Pow-
 If these magnific Titles yet remain

Not

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. There is a difference in line numbering by three lines between 1674 and 1667 because of the insertion in 1674 on page 135 of that edition, and this difference continues to the end of Book 5; but no attempt will be made in these notes to provide the correct line numbers from 1667, as no other lines were added, and the difference in numbering is not very great. This page was set from state 2 of 1667, Signature S. 744 *Far*] *Farr* 746 *Morning,*] *Morning\Morning*,
 754 *Longitude;*] The *g* is battered in all copies examined. 759 *and*] & 762 *he*] *hee* Almost certainly stressed. 770 *calumnious*] The *s* is very faint in all copies examined.

140 *Paradise Lost.* Book V.

- Not meerly titular, since by Decree
 775 Another now hath to himself ingross't
 All Power, and us eclips'd under the name
 Of King anointed, for whom all this haste
 Of midnight march, and hurried meeting here,
 This onely to consult how we may best
 780 With what may be devis'd of honours new
 Receive him coming to receive from us
 Knee-tribute yet unpaid, prostration vile,
 Too much to one, but double how endur'd,
 To one and to his image now proclaim'd?
 785 But what if better counsels might erect
 Our minds and teach us to cast off this Yoke?
 Will ye submit your necks, and chuse to bend
 The supple knee? ye will not, if I trust
 To know ye right, or if ye know your selves
 790 Natives and Sons of Heav'n possest before
 By none, and if not equal all, yet free,
 Equally free; for Orders and Degrees
 Jarr not with liberty, but well consist.
 Who can in reason then or right assume
 795 Monarchie over such as live by right
 His equals, if in power and splendor less,
 In freedome equal? or can introduce
 Law and Edict on us, who without law
 Erre not, much less for this to be our Lord,
 800 And look for adoration to th' abuse
 Of those Imperial Titles which assert
 Our being ordain'd to govern, not to serve?
 Thus farr his bold discourse without controule
 Had audience, when among the Seraphim
 805 *Abdiel*, then whom none with more zeale ador'd
 The Deitie, and divine commands obeï'd,

Stood

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. There is a difference in line numbering by three lines between 1674 and 1667 because of the insertion in 1674 on page 135 of that edition, and this difference continues to the end of Book 5; but no attempt will be made in these notes to provide the correct line numbers from 1667, as no other lines were added, and the difference in numbering is not very great. 779 *onely*]] The first syllable is stressed. 781 *Receive*] The recurrent c that barely prints. 787 *ye*]] Is this word stressed or unstressed? 806 *obeï'd*,]] The space for the apostrophe was present in all 1674 copies examined, but few showed trace of the apostrophe itself.

Book V. *Paradise Lost.* 141

- Stood up, and in a flame of zeale severe
 The current of his fury thus oppos'd.
 O argument blasphemous, false and proud !
- 810 Words which no eare ever to hear in Heav'n
 Expected, least of all from thee, ingrate
 In place thy self so high above thy Peeres.
 Canst thou with impious obloquie condemne
 The just Decree of God, pronounc't and sworn,
- 815 That to his only Son by right endu'd
 With Regal Scepter, every Soule in Heav'n
 Shall bend the knee, and in that honour due
 Confess him rightful King ? unjust thou saist
 Flatly unjust, to binde with Laws the free,
- 820 And equal over equals to let Reigne,
 One over all with unsucceeded power.
 Shalt thou give Law to God, shalt thou dispute
 With him the points of libertie, who made
 Thee what thou art, and formd the Pow'rs of Heav'n
- 825 Such as he pleasd, and circumscrib'd thir being ?
 Yet by experience taught we know how good,
 And of our good, and of our dignitie
 How provident he is, how farr from thought
 To make us less, bent rather to exalt
- 830 Our happie state under one Head more neer
 United. But to grant it thee unjust,
 That equal over equals Monarch Reigne :
 Thy self though great and glorious dost thou count,
 Or all Angelic Nature joind in one,
- 835 Equal to him begotten Son, by whom
 As by his Word the mighty Father made
 All things, ev'n thee, and all the Spirits of Heav'n
 By him created in thir bright degrees,
 Crownd them with Glory, and to thir Glory nam'd
 Thrones,

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. There is a difference in line numbering by three lines between 1674 and 1667 because of the insertion in 1674 on page 135 of that edition, and this difference continues to the end of Book 5; but no attempt will be made in these notes to supply the correct line numbers from 1667, as no other lines were added, and the difference in numbering is not very great. This page was set from state 2 of 1667, Signature S recto. [808 oppos'd.] The apostrophe is very faint in most copies examined and entirely lacking in others. [815 only] The first syllable is stressed. [824 and] & [830 one] our\one [833 and] & [836 Father] The t is very faint in a few of the copies examined. [839 Glory,] The G is battered in all copies examined. [and] &

142 **Paradise Lost.** Book V.

- 840 Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
Essential Powers, nor by his Reign obscur'd,
But more illustrious made, since he the Head
One of our number thus reduc't becomes,
His Laws our Laws, all honour to him done
- 845 Returns our own. Cease then this impious rage,
And tempt not these ; but hast'n to appease
Th' incensed Father, and th' incensed Son,
While Pardon may be found in time besought.
So spake the fervent Angel, but his zeale
- 850 None seconded, as out of season judg'd,
Or singular and rash, whereat rejoic'd
Th' Apostat, and more haughty thus repli'd.
That we were form'd then saist thou ? and the work
Of secondarie hands, by task transferd
- 855 From Father to his Son ? strange point and new !
Doctrin which we would know whence learnt : who
When this creation was ? rememberst thou (saw
Thy making, while the Maker gave thee being ?
We know no time when we were not as now ;
- 860 Know none before us, self-begot, self-rais'd
By our own quick'ning power, when fatal course
Had circl'd his full Orbe, the birth mature
Of this our native Heav'n, Ethereal Sons.
Our puissance is our own, our own right hand
- 865 Shall teach us highest deeds, by proof to try
Who is our equal : then thou shalt behold
Whether by supplication we intend
Address, and to begirt th' Almighty Throne
Beseeching or besieging. This report,
- 870 These tidings carrie to th' anointed King ;
And fly, ere evil intercept thy flight.

He

There is a difference in line numbering by three lines between 1674 and 1667 because of the insertion in 1674 on page 135 of that edition, and this difference continues to the end of Book 5; but no attempt will be made in these notes to supply the correct line numbers from 1667, as no other lines were added, and the difference in numbering is not very great. 840 Powers,] Powers The comma seems to be needed. 853 and] & Catchword. He] The catchword is two line spaces below the bottom line of text. This page carries only thirty-two lines of text as does the facing page 143.

Book V. *Paradise Lost.* 143

- He said, and as the sound of waters deep
 Hoarse murmur echo'd to his words applause
 Through the infinite Host, nor less for that
 875 The flaming Seraph fearless, though alone
 Encompass'd round with foes, thus answerd bold.
 O alienate from God, O spirit accurst,
 Forsak'n of all good; I see thy fall
 Determind, and thy hapless crew involv'd
 880 In this perfidious fraud, contagion spred
 Both of thy crime and punishment: henceforth
 No more be troubl'd how to quit the yoke
 Of Gods *Messiah*; those indulgent Laws
 Will not be now voutsaf't, other Decrees
 885 Against thee are gon forth without recall;
 That Golden Scepter which thou didst reject
 Is now an Iron Rod to bruise and break
 Thy disobedience. Well thou didst advise,
 Yet not for thy advise or threats I fly
 890 These wicked Tents devoted, least the wrauth
 Impendent, raging into sudden flame
 Distinguish not: for soon expect to feel
 His Thunder on thy head, devouring fire.
 Then who created thee lamenting learne,
 895 When who can uncreate thee thou shalt know.
 So spake the Seraph *Abdiel* faithful found,
 Among the faithless, faithful only hee;
 Among innumerable false, unmov'd,
 Unshak'n, unseduc'd, unterrifi'd
 900 His Loyaltie he kept, his Love, his Zeale;
 Nor number, nor example with him wrought
 To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind
 Though single. From amidst them forth he pass'd,

Long

There is a difference in line numbering by three lines between 1674 and 1667 because of the insertion in 1674 on page 135 of that edition, and this difference continues to the end of Book 5; but no attempt will be made in these notes to supply the correct line numbers from 1667, as no other lines were added, and the difference in numbering is not very great. Catchword. Long] As on page 142 the catchword is two line spaces below the bottom line of text and the page has only thirty-two lines of text.

144 **Paradise Lost.** Book V.

Long way through hostile scorn, which he susteind
905 Superior, nor of violence fear'd aught;
And with retorted scorn his back he turn'd
On those proud Towrs to swift destruction doom'd.

The End of the Fifth Book.

Paradise

Only two books of the poem, Books 5 and 7, end on the final page of a signature, pages 144 and 192 respectively. This particular page, 144, seems to have been forced to contain the four final lines of Book 5 solely in order that the first page of Book 6 might be set in another form at the beginning of another signature. There is a difference in line numbering by three lines between 1674 and 1667 because of the insertion in 1674 on page 135 of that edition, and this difference continues to the end of Book 5; but no attempt will be made in these notes to supply the correct line numbers from 1667, as no other lines were added, and the difference in numbering is not very great. Catchword. **Paradise**] PARA-

145

Paradise Lost.

BOOK VI.

THE ARGUMENT.

Raphael continues to relate how Michael and Gabriel
were sent forth to battel against Satan and his Angels. The first Fight describ'd: Satan and his Powers retire under Night: He calls a Councel, invents
5 devilish Engines, which in the second dayes Fight
put Michael and his Angels to some disorder; but
they at length pulling up Mountains overwhelm'd both
the force and Machins of Satan: Yet the Tumult
not so ending, God on the third day sends Messiah
10 his Son, for whom he had reserv'd the glory of that
Victory: Hee in the Power of his Father coming to
the place, and causing all his Legions to stand still on
either side, with his Chariot and Thunder driving
into the midst of his Enemies, pursues them unable to
resist towards the wall of Heaven; which opening,
15 they leap down with horrour and confusion into the
place of punishment prepar'd for them in the Deep:
Messiah returns with triumph to his Father.

L

ALL

Title. Paradise Lost.] PARADISE/ LOST. In 1674 the first a is the one with the nicks in the vertical stroke. The rules are composite, not solid.

THE ARGUMENT. The collation of the Argument only, in order, is 1674, 1668, and 1669.
1 Raphael]] 2 battel] Battel]] 3 Fight]] fight describ'd:] describ'd:] describ'd:
Pow-]] pow- 4 Councel,]] Councel 5 Fight]] fight 11 Victory:] Victory:] Victory:
Hee]] He 14 Enemies,]] enemies,

146 *Paradise Lost.* Book VI.

ALL night the dreadles Angel unpurs'd
 Through Heav'n's wide Champain held his
 way, till Morn,
 Wak't by the circling Hours, with rosie hand
 Unbarr'd the gates of Light. There is a Cave
 5 Within the Mount of God, fast by his Throne,
 Where light and darkness in perpetual round
 Lodge and dislodge by turns, which makes through
 Grateful vicissitude, like Day and Night; (Heav'n
 Light issues forth, and at the other dore
 10 Obsequious darkness enters, till her houre (well
 To veile the Heav'n, though darkness there might
 Seem twilight here; and now went forth the Morn
 Such as in highest Heav'n, arrayd in Gold
 Empyreal, from before her vanisht Night,
 15 Shot through with orient Beams: when all the Plain
 Coverd with thick embatteld Squadrons bright,
 Chariots and flaming Armes, and fierie Steeds
 Reflecting blaze on blaze, first met his view:
 Warr he perceav'd, warr in procinct, and found
 20 Already known what he for news had thought
 To have reported: gladly then he mixt
 Among those friendly Powers who him receav'd
 With joy and acclamations loud, that one
 That of so many Myriads fall'n, yet one
 25 Returnd not lost: On to the sacred hill
 They led him high applauded, and present
 Before the seat supream; from whence a voice
 From midst a Golden Cloud thus milde was heard.
 Servant of God, well done, well hast thou fought
 30 The better fight, who single hast maintaind
 Against revolted multitudes the Cause
 Of Truth, in word mightier then they in Armes;
 And for the testimonie of Truth hast born Uni-

9 Light] The L is wrong font. 18 Second blaze,] The z is battered. 27 Before] The B is faint in all copies examined. 31 multitudes] The first t is faint in all copies examined. 33 testimonie] The ligature ft is faint in all copies examined. Catchword. Uni-] Because line 2 is run over, there are only thirty-three lines of text but thirty-four lines of type on this page and the catchword is on, not below, the last line. The first line drops approximately one extra line space below the running head.

Book VI. *Paradise Lost.* 147

- Universal reproach, far worse to bear
 35 Then violence : for this was all thy care
 To stand approv'd in sight of God, though Worlds
 Judg'd thee perverse : the easier conquest now
 Remains thee, aided by this host of friends,
 Back on thy foes more glorious to return
 40 Then scornd thou didst depart, and to subdue
 By force, who reason for thir Law refuse,
 Right reason for thir Law, and for thir King
 Messiah, who by right of merit Reigns.
 Go *Michael* of Celestial Armies Prince,
 45 And thou in Military prowes next
 Gabriel, lead forth to Battel these my Sons
 Invincible, lead forth my armed Saints
 By Thousands and by Millions rang'd for fight ;
 Equal in number to that Godless crew
 50 Rebellious, them with Fire and hostile Arms
 Fearless assault, and to the brow of Heav'n
 Pursuing drive them out from God and bliss,
 Into thir place of punishment, the Gulf
 Of *Tartarus*, which ready opens wide
 55 His fiery *Chaos* to receave thir fall.
 So spake the Sovran voice, and Clouds began
 To darken all the Hill, and smoak to rowl
 In duskie wreathes, reluctant flames, the signe
 Of wrauth awak't : nor with less dread the loud
 60 Ethereal Trumpet from on high gan blow :
 At which command the Powers Militant,
 That stood for Heav'n, in mighty *Quadrat* joyn'd
 Of Union irresistible, mov'd on
 In silence thir bright Legions, to the sound
 65 Of instrumental Harmonie that breath'd
 Heroic Ardor to advent'rous deeds
 Under thir God-like Leaders, in the Cause

L 2

Of

44 Go] Goe 53 place] The bottom of the p is battered in all copies examined. 54 *Tartarus*,] The bottom of the second r is broken off in all copies examined. 63 irresistible,] The ligature ft is faint in all copies examined. 64 thir] Stressed? 65 instrumental] The m is battered in all copies examined. 66 advent'rous] The t is battered in all copies examined.

148 *Paradise Lost.* Book VI.

- Of God and his *Messiah*. On they move
 Indissolubly firm ; nor obvious Hill,
 70 Nor streit'ning Vale, nor Wood, nor Stream divides
 Thir perfet ranks ; for high above the ground
 Thir march was, and the passive Air upbore
 Thir nimble tread, as when the total kind
 Of Birds in orderly array on wing
 75 Came summond over *Eden* to receive
 Thir names of thee ; so over many a tract
 Of Heav'n they march'd, and many a Province wide
 Tenfold the length of this terrene : at last
 Farr in th' Horizon to the North appeer'd
 80 From skirt to skirt a fierie Region, stretcht
 In battailous aspect, and neerer view
 Bristl'd with upright beams innumerable
 Of rigid Spears, and Helmets throng'd, and Shields
 Various, with boastful Argument portraid,
 85 The banded Powers of *Satan*, hasting on
 With furious expedition ; for they weend
 That self same day by fight, or by surprize
 To win the Mount of God, and on his Throne
 To set the envier of his State, the proud
 90 Aspirer, but thir thoughts prov'd fond and vain
 In the mid way : though strange to us it seemd
 At first, that Angel should with Angel warr,
 And in fierce hosting meet, who wont to meet
 So oft in Festivals of joy and love
 95 Unanimous, as sons of one great Sire
 Hymning th' Eternal Father : but the shout
 Of Battel now began, and rushing sound
 Of onset ended soon each milder thought.
 High in the midst exalted as a God
 100 Th' Apostat in his Sun-bright Chariot sate
 Idol of Majestie Divine, enclos'd

With

73 tread,] tread; It is difficult to choose between the comma and the semicolon here.
 96 Father:] Italic colon.

Book VI. *Paradise Lost.* 149

- With Flaming Cherubim, and golden Shields ;
 Then lighted from his gorgeous Throne, for now
 'Twixt Host and Host but narrow space was left,
 105 A dreadful intervall, and Front to Front
 Presented stood in terrible array
 Of hideous length : before the cloudie Van,
 On the rough edge of battel ere it joyn'd,
 Satan with vast and haughtie strides advanc't,
 110 Came towring, armd in Adamant and Gold ;
Abdiel that sight endur'd not, where he stood
 Among the mightiest, bent on highest deeds,
 And thus his own undaunted heart explores.
- O Heav'n ! that such resemblance of the Highest
 115 Should yet remain, where faith and realtie
 Remain not ; wherfore should not strength and might
 There fail where Vertue fails, or weakest prove
 Where boldest ; though to sight unconquerable ?
 His puissance, trusting in th' Almightye's aide,
 120 I mean to try, whose Reason I have tri'd
 Unsound and false ; nor is it aught but just,
 That he who in debate of Truth hath won,
 Should win in Arms, in both disputes alike
 Victor ; though brutish that contest and soule,
 125 When Reason hath to deal with force, yet so
 Most reason is that Reason overcome.
- So pondering, and from his armed Peers
 Forth stepping opposite, half way he met
 His daring foe, at this prevention more
 130 Incens't, and thus securely him defid.
- Proud, art thou met ? thy hope was to have reacht
 The highth of thy aspiring unoppos'd,
 The Throne of God unguarded, and his side
 Abandon'd at the terror of thy Power
 135 Or potent tongue ; fool, not to think how vain

L 3

Against

105 intervall,] interval, 116 should] The l is faint in all copies examined. and] &
 120 whose] The f is battered in all copies examined. 127 Peers] The s is below type alignment.

150 *Paradise Lost.* Book VI.

- Against th' Omnipotent to rise in Arms ;
 Who out of smalleſt things could without end
 Have rais'd incessant Armies to defeat
 Thy folly ; or with ſolitarie hand
 140 Reaching beyond all limit at one blow
 Unaideſt could have finiſht thee, and whelmd
 Thy Legions under darkness ; but thou ſeest
 All are not of thy Train ; there be who Faith
 Prefer, and Pietie to God, though then
 145 To thee not visible, when I alone
 Seemd in thy World erroneous to diſſent
 From all : my Sect thou ſeest, now learn too late
 How few ſomtimes may know, when thousands err.
 Whom the grand foe with ſcornful eye askance
 150 Thus anſwerd. Ill for thee, but in wiſt houre
 Of my revenge, firſt ſought for thou returnſt
 From flight, ſeditious Angel, to receive
 Thy merited reward, the firſt assay
 Of this right hand provok't, ſince firſt that tongue
 155 Inſpir'd with contradiction durſt oppoſe
 A third part of the Gods, in Synod met
 Thir Deities to afſert, who while they ſeel
 Vigour Divine within them, can allow
 Omnipotence to none. But well thou comſt
 160 Before thy fellowſ, ambitious to win
 From me ſom Plume, that thy ſucceſs may show
 Deſtruſion to the reſt : this paufe between
 (Unanſwerd leaſt thou boaſt) to let thee know ;
 At firſt I thought that Libertie and Heav'n
 165 To heav'nly Soules had bin all one ; but now
 I ſee that moſt through Sloth had rather ſerve,
 Minſtrineſt Spirits, traɪnd up in Feaſt and Song ;
 Such haſt thou arm'd, the Minſtreſie of Heav'n,
 Servilitie with freedom to contend,

As

140 limit] limit, 149 Whom] The W is smashed in all copies examined. askance] askance (ligature) 162 Deſtruſion] The r is broken in ſome copies, ſuch as numbers 14 and 19, but clear in others, ſuch as number 22. Was it reſet? 169 Servilitie] The l is ſo badly worn that it scarcely printed in any copy examined, but was not found reſet.

Book VI. *Paradise Lost.* 151

- 170 As both thir deeds compar'd this day shall prove.
 To whom in brief thus *Abdiel* stern repli'd.
 Apostat, still thou errst, nor end wilt find
 Of erring, from the path of truth remote :
 Unjustly thou depriv'st it with the name
 175 Of *Servitude* to serve whom God ordains,
 Or Nature ; God and Nature bid the same,
 When he who rules is worthiest, and excells
 Them whom he governs. This is servitude,
 To serve th' unwise, or him who hath rebell'd
 180 Against his worthier, as thine now serve thee,
 Thy self not free, but to thy self entrall'd ;
 Yet leudly dar'st our ministring upbraid.
 Reign thou in Hell thy Kingdom, let mee serve
 In Heav'n God ever blest, and his Divine
 185 Behests obey, worthiest to be obey'd,
 Yet Chains in Hell, not Realms expect : meanwhile
 From mee returnd, as erst thou saidst, from flight,
 This greeting on thy impious Crest receive.
 So saying, a noble stroke he lifted high,
 190 Which hung not, but so swift with tempest fell
 On the proud Crest of *Satan*, that no sight,
 Nor motion of swift thought, less could his Shield
 Such ruin intercept : ten paces huge
 He back recoild ; the tenth on bended knee
 195 His massie Spear upstaid ; as if on Earth
 Winds under ground or waters forcing way
 Sidelong, had push't a Mountain from his seat
 Half sunk with all his Pines. Amazement seis'd
 The Rebel Thrones, but greater rage to see
 200 Thus foil'd thir mightiest, ours joy fill'd, and shout,
 Presage of Victorie and fierce desire
 Of Battel : whereat *Michæl* bid sound
 Th' Arch-Angel trumpet; through the vast of Heaven

L 4

It

184 bleſt,) blesſed, The change is as called for in the 1668 *Errata*. 193 intercept:] The re-
 current faint c 197 Sidelong,) It is impossible to tell whether this is a smashed comma that
 looks like a period or a smashed period that looks like a comma. The comma is obviously intended
 here. 203 Angel] angel Heaven] Heav'n The second syllable is certainly unstressed, and the
 second e should have been elided.

152 *Paradise Lost.* Book VI.

It sounded, and the faithful Armies rung
 205 *Hosanna* to the Highest: nor stood at gaze
 The adverse Legions, nor less hideous joyn'd
 The horrid shock : now storming furie rose,
 And clamour such as heard in Heav'n till now
 Was never, Arms on Armour clashing bray'd
 210 Horrible discord, and the madding Wheeles
 Of brazen Chariots rag'd; dire was the noise
 Of conflict; over head the dismal hiss
 Of fiery Darts in flaming volies flew,
 And flying vaulted either Host with fire.
 215 So under fierie Cope together rush'd
 Both Battels maine, with ruinous assault
 And inextinguishable rage; all Heav'n
 Resounded, and had Earth bin then, all Earth
 Had to her Center shook. What wonder? when
 220 Millions of fierce encouraging Angels fought
 On either side, the least of whom could weild
 These Elements, and arm him with the force
 Of all thir Regions: how much more of Power
 Armie against Armie numberless to raise
 225 Dreadful combustion warring, and disturb,
 Though not destroy, thir happie Native seat;
 Had not th' Eternal King Omnipotent
 From his strong hold of Heav'n high over-rul'd
 And limited thir might; though numberd such
 230 As each divided Legion might have seemd
 A numerous Host, in strength each armed hand
 A Legion; led in fight, yet Leader seemd
 Each Warriour single as in Chief, expert
 When to advance, or stand, or turn the sway
 235 Of Battel, open when, and when to close
 The ridges of grim Warr; no thought of flight,
 None of retreat, no unbecoming deed

That

(LINE 232)

A numerous Host, in
 A Legion, led in fig
 Each Warriour sing

215 So under] Sounder The change is made as called for in the 1668 *Errata*. 225 disturb,]] The Columbia note claiming a semicolon for a copy of the first edition is in error. Some first edition copies, such as numbers 5, 15, and 16, show an offset smear above the comma; but in no copy of the first edition known to me has the comma been replaced. 1678 printed a comma here. 232 Legion;]] Again, the Columbia note is too drastic. The punctuation mark here is one of the semicolons peculiar to the 1674 type font, and the top element is often so faint as to be scarcely visible. But several 1674 copies carry it clear enough to be sure of it. The two prints presented here show the situation very well. Note that the lower portion of the semicolon, the comma portion, that is common to both conditions is exactly the same in both prints. It is only the upper portion, the period-like mark, that appears and disappears. The same kind of semicolon, if not this identical one, with the lower part sharp and bright, but with a very faint upper part, can be seen over and over again throughout the book.

Book VI. *Paradise Lost.* 153

- That argu'd fear ; each on himself reli'd,
 As onely in his arm the moment lay
 240 Of victorie ; deeds of eternal fame
 Were don, but infinite : for wide was spred
 That Warr and various ; somtimes on firm ground
 A standing fight, then soaring on main wing
 Tormented all the Air ; all Air seemd then
 245 Conflicting Fire : long time in eeven scale
 The Battel hung ; till *Satan*, who that day
 Prodigious power had shewn, and met in Armes
 No equal, raunging through the dire attack
 Of fighting Seraphim confus'd, at length
 250 Saw where the Sword of *Michael* smote, and fell'd
 Squadrons at once, with huge two-handed sway
 Brandisht aloft the horrid edge came down
 Wide wasting ; such destruction to withstand
 He hasted, and oppos'd the rockie Orb
 255 Of tenfold Adamant, his ample Shield
 A vast circumference : At his approach
 The great Arch-Angel from his warlike toile
 Surceas'd, and glad as hoping here to end
 Intestine War in Heav'n, the arch foe subdu'd
 260 Or Captive drag'd in Chains, with hostile frown
 And visage all enflam'd first thus began.
 Author of evil, unknown till thy revolt,
 Unnam'd in Heav'n, now plenteous, as thou seest
 These Acts of hateful strife, hateful to all,
 265 Though heaviest by just measure on thy self
 And thy adherents : how hast thou disturb'd
 Heav'ns blessed peace, and into Nature brought
 Miserie, uncreated till the crime
 Of thy Rebellion ? how hast thou instill'd
 270 Thy malice into thousands, once upright
 And faithful, now prov'd false. But think not here

To

239 onely]] The first syllable is stressed. 246 who] The h is broken in copy 14 only.

255 Adamant, his] Tight spacing in all copies examined. 271 false.] The recurrent faint period.

154 *Paradise Lost.* Book VI.

- To trouble Holy Rest; Heav'n casts thee out
 From all her Confines. Heav'n the seat of bliss
 Brooks not the works of violence and Warr.
 275 Hence then, and evil go with thee along
 Thy offspring, to the place of evil, Hell,
 Thou and thy wicked crew; there mingle broiles,
 Ere this avenging Sword begin thy doome,
 Or som more sudden vengeance wing'd from God
 280 Precipitate thee with augmented paine.
 So spake the Prince of Angels; to whom thus
 The Adversarie. Nor think thou with wind
 Of airie threats to aw whom yet with deeds
 Thou canst not. Hast thou turnd the least of these
 285 To flight, or if to fall, but that they rise
 Unvanquisht, easier to transact with mee
 That thou shouldest hope, imperious, and with threats
 To chase me hence? erre not that so shall end
 The strife which thou call'st evil, but wee style
 290 The strife of Glorie: which we mean to win,
 Or turn this Heav'n it self into the Hell
 Thou fablest, here however to dwell free,
 If not to reign: mean while thy utmost force,
 And join him nam'd *Almighty* to thy aid,
 295 I flie not, but have sought thee farr and nigh.
 They ended parle, and both addreſſt for fight
 Unspeakable; for who, though with the tongue
 Of Angels, can relate, or to what things
 Liken on Earth conspicuous, that may lift
 300 Human imagination to such highth
 Of Godlike Power: for likeſt Gods they seemd,
 Stood they or mov'd, in stature, motion, arms
 Fit to decide the Empire of great Heav'n.
 Now wav'd thir fierie Swords, and in the Aire
 305 Made horrid Circles; two broad Suns thir Shields
Blaz'd

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 273 *Heav'n*] The H is battered in all copies examined. 280 *augmented*] The a is defective in all copies examined. 287 *imperious*,] The recurrent faint p and] & 294 *Almighty*] *Almighty* 303 to] The o is broken in all copies examined. 305 *Suns*] The recurrent faint s

Book VI. *Paradise Lost.* 155

- Blaz'd opposite, while expectation stood
 In horror ; from each hand with speed retir'd
 Where erst was thickest fight, th' Angelic throng,
 And left large field, unsafe within the wind
 310 Of such commotion, such as to set forth
 Great things by small, If Natures concord broke,
 Among the Constellations warr were sprung,
 Two Planets rushing from aspect maligne
 Of fiercest opposition in mid Skie,
 315 Should combat, and thir jarring Sphears confound.
 Together both with next to Almighty Arme,
 Uplifted imminent one stroke they aim'd
 That might determine, and not need repeate,
 As not of power, at once ; nor odds appeerd
 320 In might or swift prevention ; but the sword
 Of *Michael* from the Armorie of God
 Was giv'n him temperd so, that neither keen
 Nor solid might resist that edge : it met
 The sword of *Satan* with steep force to smite
 325 Descending, and in half cut sheere, nor staid,
 But with swift wheele reverse, deep entring shar'd
 All his right side ; then *Satan* first knew pain,
 And writh'd him to and fro convolv'd ; so sore
 The griding sword with discontinuous wound
 330 Pass'd through him, but th' Ethereal substance clos'd
 Not long divisible, and from the gash
 A stream of Nectarous humor issuing flow'd
 Sanguin, such as Celestial Spirits may bleed,
 And all his Armour stain'd ere while so bright.
 335 Forthwith on all sides to his aide was run
 By Angels many and strong, who interpos'd
 Defence, while others bore him on thir Shields
 Back to his Chariot ; where it stood retir'd
 From off the files of warr ; there they him laid

Gnashing

311 small, If]] Note how closely the 1674 compositor was following his 1667 copy here in reproducing the capital I although it seems scarcely necessary, although the comma set in 1667 may have been set in error for a period. 316-317 Copy 19 has struck out with a pen the comma after Arme, and has inserted a comma in line 317 after imminent and the two lines were so printed by editors of 1725, 1727, and by Newton in 1749. The change in subject of the verb *Uplifted* from *stroke* to *Arme*, is at least reasonable. The penned changes in copy 19 may have been made in the print shop after printing and before the sale of the copy. Probably more editions have dropped the comma after Arme, than have, since 1695, ever printed it. But both 1667 and 1674 carry it and read exactly alike in these two lines. 329 In the first edition, this line is slightly indented. 330 *Pass'd]* The apostrophe is very faint in all copies examined. 336 *strong,]* The comma is clear in most copies, but very faint in a few, though always present.

156 Paradise Lost. Book VI.

- 340 Gnashing for anguish and despite and shame
To find himself not matchless, and his pride
Humbld by such rebuke, so farr beneath
His confidence to equal God in power.
Yet soon he heal'd; for Spirits that live throughout
345 Vital in every part, not as frail man
In Entrails, Heart or Head, Liver or Reines;
Cannot but by annihilating die;
Nor in thir liquid texture mortal wound
Receive, no more then can the fluid Aire:
350 All Heart they live, all Head, all Eye, all Eare,
All Intellect, all Senfe, and as they please,
They Limb themselves, and colour, shape or size
Assume, as likes them best, condense or rare.
Mean while in other parts like deeds deservd
355 Memorial, where the might of *Gabriel* fought,
And with fierce Ensignes pierc'd the deep array
Of *Moloc* furious King, who him defid,
And at his Chariot wheeles to drag him bound
Threatn'd, nor from the Holie One of Heav'n
360 Refrein'd his tongue blasphemous; but anon
Down clov'n to the waste, with shattered Armes
And uncouth paine fled bellowing. On each wing
Uriel and *Raphael* his vaunting foe,
Though huge, and in a Rock of Diamond Armd,
365 Vanquish'd *Adramelec*, and *Asmadai*,
Two potent Thrones, that to be less then Gods
Disdain'd, but meaner thoughts learnd in thir flight,
Mangl'd with gasty wounds through Plate and Maile,
Nor stood unmindful *Abdiel* to annoy
370 The Atheist crew, but with redoubl'd blow
Ariel and *Arioc*, and the violence
Of *Ramiel* scorcht and blasted overthrew.
I might relate of thousands, and thir names

Eternize

346 Reines;] Reines, All but a few 1674 copies examined show at least a trace of the top part of the weak semicolon as shown in the above print. The comma is doubtless correct, and the semicolon was set here by foul case. 1678 reads semicolon. 357 King,]] In 1674 the comma is very faint in several copies examined, but always present. 368 Maile,] (Maile. Almost certainly this is a foul case comma set for what was intended to be a period.

Book VI. *Paradise Lost.* 157

- 375 Eternize here on Earth ; but those elect
 Angels contented with thir fame in Heav'n
 Seek not the praise of men : the other sort
 In might though wondrous and in Acts of Warr,
 Nor of Renown less eager, yet by doome
 Canceld from Heav'n and sacred memorie,
 380 Nameless in dark oblivion let them dwell.
 For strength from Truth divided and from Just,
 Illaudable, naught merits but dispraise
 And ignominie, yet to glorie aspires
 Vain glorious, and through infamie seeks fame :
 385 Therfore Eternal silence be thir doome.
 And now thir Mightiest quell'd, the battel swerv'd,
 With many an inrode gor'd ; deformed rout
 Enter'd, and foul disorder ; all the ground
 With shiverd armour strow'n, and on a heap
 390 Chariot and Charioter lay overturn'd
 And fierie foaming Steeds ; what stood, recoyld
 Oreweared, through the saint Satanic Host
 Defensive scarse, or with pale fear surpris'd,
 Then first with fear surpris'd and sense of paine
 395 Fled ignominious, to such evil brought
 By sin of disobedience, till that hour
 Not liable to fear or flight or paine.
 Far otherwise th' inviolable Saints
 In Cubic Phalanx firm advanc't entire,
 400 Invulnerable, impenitrably arm'd :
 Such high advantages thir innocence
 Gave them above thir foes, not to have sinnd,
 Not to have disobey'd ; in fight they stood
 Unwearied, unobnoxious to be pain'd
 405 By wound, though from thir place by violence mov'd.
 Now Night her course began, and over Heav'n
 Inducing darkness, grateful truce impos'd,

And

386 *Mightiest*] *mightiest* 396 *sin*] *sinne* 405 *By wound,*] *Bywound,* *mov'd.]* *mov'd*
 The period is needed.

158 *Paradise Lost.* Book VI.

- And silence on the odious dinn of Warr :
 Under her Cloudie covert both retir'd,
 410 Victor and Vanquisht : on the foughten field
Michael and his Angels prevalent
 Encamping, plac'd in Guard thir Watches round,
 Cherubic waving fires: on th' other part
Satan with his rebellious disappeerd,
 415 Far in the dark dislodg'd, and void of rest,
 His Potentates to Councel call'd by night ;
 And in the midst thus undismai'd began.
 O now in danger tri'd, now known in Armes
 Not to be overpowerd, Companions deare,
 420 Found worthy not of Libertie alone,
 Too mean pretense, but what we more affect,
 Honour, Dominion, Glorie, and renowne,
 Who have sustaind one day in doubtful fight
 (And if one day, why not Eternal dayes?)
 425 What Heavens Lord had powerfullest to fend
 Against us from about his Throne, and judg'd
 Sufficient to subdue us to his will,
 But proves not so : then fallible, it seems,
 Of future we may deem him, though till now
 430 Omniscent thought. True is, less firmly arm'd,
 Some disadvantage we endur'd and paine,
 Till now not known, but known as soon contemnd,
 Since now we find this our Empyreal form
 Incapable of mortal injurie
 435 Imperishable, and though peirc'd with wound,
 Soon closing, and by native vigour heal'd.
 Of evil then so small as easie think
 The remedie ; perhaps more valid Armes,
 Weapons more violent, when next we meet,
 440 May serve to better us, and worse our foes,
 Or equal what between us made the odds,

In

423 fight] fight, The comma is not exactly needed here. 424 Eternal] The a either is battered or wrong font. 425 Heavens] The crossbar of the first e is broken in all copies examined. 429 we]] Stressed? 431 we]] Stressed. 433 form] forme 436 closing,] The comma is clear in most copies, but very faint in a few, though always present.

Book VI. *Paradise Lost.* 159

- In Nature none : if other hidden cause
 Left them Superiour, while we can preserve
 Unhurt our mindes, and understanding sound,
 Due search and consultation will disclose.
 445 He sat ; and in th' assembly next upstood
Nisroc, of Principalities the prime ;
 As one he stood escap't from cruel fight,
 Sore toild, his riv'n Armes to havoc hewn,
 450 And cloudie in aspect thus answering spake.
 Deliverer from new Lords, leader to free
 Enjoyment of our right as Gods ; yet hard
 For Gods, and too unequal work we find
 Against unequal armes to fight in paine,
 455 Against unpaind, impassive ; from which evil
 Ruin must needs ensue ; for what availes
 Valour or strength, though matchless, quell'd with pain
 Which all subdues, and makes remiss the hands
 Of Mightiest. Sense of pleasure we may well
 460 Spare out of life perhaps, and not repine,
 But live content, which is the calmest life :
 But pain is perfet miserie, the worst
 Of evils, and excessive, overturnes
 All patience. He who therefore can invent
 465 With what more forcible we may offend
 Our yet unwounded Enemies, or arme
 Our selves with like defence, to me deserves
 No less then for deliverance what we owe.
 Whereto with look compos'd *Satan* repli'd.
 470 Not uninvented that, which thou aright
 Believst so main to our success, I bring ;
 Which of us who beholds the bright surface
 Of this Ethereous mould whereon we stand,
 This continent of spacious Heav'n, adornd
 475 With Plant, Fruit, Flour Ambrosial, Gemms & Gold,
 Whose

457 The line is long and no space appears after either of the two commas. 467 with] The crossbar of the t is faint. me] mee The word is certainly stressed, and the second edition is wrong. 471 Believst] Beleivst 475 Plant,Fruit,) No space.

160 *Paradise Lost.* Book VI.

- Whose Eye so superficially surveyes
 These things, as not to mind from whence they grow
 Deep under ground, materials dark and crude,
 Of spiritous and fierie spume, till toucht
 480 With Heav'ns ray, and temperd they shoot forth
 So beauteous, op'ning to the ambient light.
 These in thir dark Nativitie the Deep
 Shall yield us pregnant with infernal flame,
 Which into hallow Engins long and round
 485 Thick-rammd, at th' other bore with touch of fire
 Dilated and infuriate shall send forth
 From far with thundring noise among our foes
 Such implements of mischief as shall dash
 To pieces, and o'rewhelm whatever stands
 490 Adverse, that they shall fear we have disarm'd
 The Thunderer of his only dreaded bolt.
 Nor long shall be our labour, yet ere dawne,
 Effect shall end our wish. Mean while revive ;
 Abandon fear ; to strength and counsel joind
 495 Think nothing hard, much less to be despair'd.
 He ended, and his words thir drooping chere
 Enlightn'd, and thir languisht hope reviv'd.
 Th' invention all admir'd, and each, how hee
 To be th' inventer mis's'd, so easie it seem'd
 500 Once found, which yet unfound most would have
 Impossible : yet haply of thy Race (thought
 In future dayes, if Malice should abound,
 Some one intent on mischief, or inspir'd
 With dev'lisch machination might devise
 505 Like instrument to plague the Sons of men
 For sin, on warr and mutual slaughter bent.
 Forthwith from Councel to the work they flew,
 None arguing stood, innumerable hands
 Were ready, in a moment up they turnd

Wide

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 483 yield] yeild us] us, The comma seems to be needed. 488 mifchief] The top of the f is broken off in all copies examined.

Book VI. *Paradise Lost.* 161

- 510 Wide the Celestial soile, and saw beneath
 Th' originals of Nature in thir crude
 Conception ; Sulphurous and Nitrous Foame
 They found, they mingl'd, and with subtle Art,
 Concocted and adjusted they reduc'd
 515 To blackest grain, and into store convey'd :
 Part hidd'n veins diggd up (nor hath this Earth
 Entrails unlike) of Mineral and Stone,
 Whereof to found thir Engins and thir Balls
 Of missive ruin ; part incentive reed
 520 Provide, pernicious with one touch to fire.
 So all ere day-spring, under conscious Night
 Secret they finish'd, and in order set,
 With silent circumspection unespied.
 Now when fair Morn Orient in Heav'n appeerd
 525 Up rose the Victor Angels, and to Arms
 The matin Trumpet Sung : in Arms they stood
 Of Golden Panoplie, refulgent Host,
 Soon banded ; others from the dawning Hills
 Lookd round, and Scouts each Coast light-armed
 530 Each quarter, to descrie the distant foe, (scour,
- Where lodg'd, or whither fled, or if for fight,
 In motion or in alt : him soon they met
 Under spred Ensignes moving nigh, in slow
 But firm Battalion ; back with speediest Sail
 535 *Zophiel*, of Cherubim the swiftest wing,
 Came flying, and in mid Aire aloud thus cri'd.
 Arme, Warriours, Arme for fight, the foe at hand,
 Whom fled we thought, will save us long pursuit
 This day, fear not his flight ; so thick a Cloud
 540 He comes, and settl'd in his face I see
 Sad resolution and secure : let each
 His Adamantine coat gird well, and each
 Fit well his Helme, gripe fast his orbed Shield,

M

Born

Running Head. *Lost.*] The period is battered. 515 convey'd:] conveyd: 521 day-spring,]
 Some copies of 1667 show no hyphen here, but others do. See my note, volume 2:427. 527 Golden]
 The G and d are smashed in all copies examined.

162 *Paradise Lost.* Book VI.

- Born eevn or high, for this day will pour down,
 545 If I conjecture aught, no drizling showr,
 But ratling storm of Arrows barbd with fire.
 So warnd he them aware themselves, and soon
 In order, quit of all impediment;
 Instant without disturb they took Allarm,
 550 And onward moye Embattelld; when behold
 Not distant far with heavie pace the Foe
 Approaching gross and huge; in hollow Cube
 Training his devilish Enginrie, impal'd
 On every side with shaddowing Squadrons Deep,
 555 To hide the fraud. At interview both stood
 Awhile, but suddenly at head appeerd
 Satan: And thus was heard Commanding loud.
 Vanguard, to Right and Left the Front unsould;
 That all may see who hate us, how we seek
 560 Peace and composure, and with open brest
 Stand readie to receive them, if they like
 Our overture, and turn not back perverse;
 But that I doubt, however witness Heaven,
 Heav'n witness thou anon, while we discharge
 565 Freely our part; yee who appointed stand
 Do as you have in charge, and briefly touch
 What we propound, and loud that all may hear.
 So scoffing in ambiguous words he scarce,
 Had ended; when to Right and Left the Front
 570 Divided, and to either Flank retir'd.
 Which to our eyes discoverd new and strange,
 A triple mounted row of Pillars laid
 On Wheels (for like to Pillars most they seem'd
 Or hollow'd bodies made of Oak or Firr
 575 With branches lopt, in Wood or Mountain fell'd.)
 Bras, Iron, Stonie mould, had not thir mouthes
 With hideous orifice gap't on us wide,

Por-

Running Head. Lost.] The recurrent round period. 555 interview] The dot over the second i is very faint in all copies examined. 558 Vanguard,] Vangard, 564 witnes] The recurrent faint s we] Stressed. 567 we] Stressed. 568 words] words, scarce,) scarce The movement of the comma here provides an excellent example of typographical error in 1674. There can be little doubt that the compositor set the comma after the wrong word, and that the error was missed by the corrector, and 1674 then misprinted the line. Certainly the 1667 punctuation is correct. 572 triple mounted] triple-mounted 575 fell'd,) In all 1674 copies examined, an inverted apostrophe has been used here as a space, reversed from the same usage in 1674 Book 3:349. Both are doubtless foul case spaces. Space was set following and before a parenthesis except on page 193, Book 8:3.

Book VI. *Paradise Lost.* 163

- Portending hollow truce ; at each behind
 A Seraph stood, and in his hand a Reed
 580 Stood waving tipt with fire ; while we suspense,
 Collected stood within our thoughts amus'd,
 Not long, for sudden all at once thir Reeds
 Put forth, and to a narrow vent appli'd
 With nicest touch. Immediate in a flame,
 585 But soon obscur'd with smoak, all Heav'n appeerd,
 From those deep throated Engins belcht, whose roar
 Emboweld with outragious noise the Air,
 And all her entrails tore, disgorging foule
 Thir devilish glut, chaind Thunderbolts and Hail
 590 Of Iron Globes, which on the Victor Host
 Level'd, with such impetuous furie smote,
 That whom they hit, none on thir feet might stand,
 Though standing else as Rocks, but down they fell
 By thousands, Angel on Arch-Angel rowld ;
 595 The sooner for thir Arms, unarm'd they might
 Have easily as Spirits evaded swift
 By quick contraction or remove ; but now
 Foule dissipation follow'd and forc't rout ;
 Nor serv'd it to relax thir ferried files.
 600 What should they do ? if on they rusht, repulse
 Repeated, and indecent overthrow
 Doubl'd, would render them yet more despis'd,
 And to thir foes a laughter ; for in view
 Stood rankt of Seraphim another row
 605 In posture to dispplode thir second tire
 Of Thunder : back defeated to return
 They worse abhorrd. *Satan* beheld thir plight,
 And to his Mates thus in derision call'd.
 O Friends, why come not on these Victors proud ?
 610 Ere while they fierce were coming, and when wee,
 To entertain them fair with open Front

M 2 And

586 deep throated] deep-throated 589 devilish] devillish 591 impetuous] The s is faint in all copies examined. 598 Foule] The l is very faint in all copies examined.

164 **Paradise Lost.** Book VI.

- And Breſt, (what could we more?) propounded terms
Of composition, ſtraiſt they chang'd thir minds,
Flew off, and into ſtrange vagaries fell,
615 As they would dance, yet for a dance they ſeemd
Somewhat extravagant and wilde, perhaps
For joy of offerd peace : but I ſuppoſe
If our propoſals once again were heard
We ſhould compel them to a quick result.
620 To whom thus *Belial* in like gameſoni mood,
Leader, the terms we ſent were terms of weight,
Of hard contents, and full of force urg'd home,
Such as we might perceive amus'd them all,
And ſtumbl'd many, who receives them right,
625 Had need from head to foot well understand ;
Not understood, this gift they have besides,
They ſhew us when our foes walk not upright.
So they among themselves in pleasant veine
Stood scoffing, hightn'd in thir thoughts beyond
630 All doubt of Victorie, eternal might
To match with thir inventions they presum'd
So easie, and of his Thunder made a ſcorn,
And all his Host derided, while they stood
A while in trouble ; but they stood not long,
635 Rage prompted them at length, and found them arms
Againſt ſuch hellish mischief fit to oppoſe.
Forthwith (behold the excellence, the power
Which God hath in his mighty Angels plac'd)
Thir Arms away they threw, and to the Hills
640 (For Earth hath this variety from Heav'n
Of pleasure ſituate in Hill and Dale)
Light as the Lightning glimpts they ran, they flew,
From thir foundations loofning to and fro
They pluckt the ſeated Hills with all thir load,
645 Rocks, Waters, Woods, and by the ſhaggie tops

Up

617 peace:] Italic colon. 620 mood,] mood. Usually, there is a full stop before a speech.
The 1674 comma may well be foul case. 635 and] & 642 glimpts] glimpl

Book VI. *Paradise Lost.* 165

- Up lifting bore them in thir hands : Amaze,
 Be sure, and terror seis'd the rebel Host,
 When coming towards them so dread they saw
 The bottom of the Mountains upward turn'd,
 650 Till on those cursed Engins triple-row
 They saw them whelm'd, and all thir confidence
 Under the weight of Mountains buried deep,
 Themselves invaded next, and on thir heads
 Main Promontories flung, which in the Air
 655 Came shadowing, and opprest whole Legions arm'd,
 Thir armor help'd thir harm, crush't in and bruis'd
 Into thir substance pent, which wrought them pain
 Implacable, and many a dolorous groan,
 Long strugling underneath, ere they could wind
 660 Out of such prison, though Spirits of purest light,
 Purest at first, now gross by sinning grown.
 The rest in imitation to like Armes
 Betook them, and the neighbouring Hills uptore ;
 So Hills amid the Air encounterd Hills
 665 Hurl'd to and fro with jaculation dire,
 That under ground, they fought in dismal shade ;
 Infernal noise ; Warr seem'd a civil Game
 To this uproar ; horrid confusion heapt
 Upon confusion rose : and now all Heav'n
 670 Had gon to wrack, with ruin overspred,
 Had not th' Almighty Father where he sits
 Shrin'd in his Sanctuarie of Heav'n secure,
 Consulting on the sum of things, foreseen
 This tumult, and permitted all, advis'd :
 675 That his great purpose he might so fulfill,
 To honour his Anointed Son aveng'd
 Upon his enemies, and to declare
 All power on him transferr'd : whence to his Son
 Th' Assessor of his Throne he thus began.

M 3

Efful-

651 whelm'd,] whelmd, 656 bruis'd] brus'd 666 ground,] ground The comma seems unnecessary. 669 rose:] Italic colon. 670 gon] gone 676 Son] The S is too low.

166 *Paradise Lost.* Book VI.

- 680 Effulgence of my Glorie, Son belov'd,
 Son in whose face invisible is beheld
 Visibly, what by Deitie I am,
 And in whose hand what by Decree I doe,
 Second Omnipotence, two dayes are past,
 685 Two dayes, as we compute the dayes of Heav'n,
 Since *Michael* and his Powers went forth to tame
 These disobedient ; sore hath been thir fight,
 As likeliest was, when two such Foes met arm'd ;
 For to themselves I left them, and thou knowst,
 690 Equal in their Creation they were form'd,
 Save what sin hath impaird, which yet hath wrought
 Insensibly, for I suspend thir doom ;
 Whence in perpetual fight they needs must last
 Endless, and no solution will be found :
 695 Warr wearied hath perform'd what Warr can do,
 And to disorder'd rage let loose the reines, (makes
 With Mountains as with Weapons arm'd, which
 Wild work in Heav'n, and dangerous to the maine.
 Two dayes are therefore past, the third is thine ;
 700 For thee I have ordain'd it, and thus farr
 Have sufferd, that the Glorie may be thine
 Of ending this great Warr, since none but Thou
 Can end it. Into thee such Virtue and Grace
 Immense I have trans fus'd, that all may know
 705 In Heav'n and Hell thy Power above compare,
 And this perverse Commotion governd thus,
 To manifest thee worthiest to be Heir
 Of all things, to be Heir and to be King
 By Sacred Unction, thy deserved right.
 710 Go then thou Mightiest in thy Fathers might,
 Ascend my Chariot, guide the rapid Wheeles
 That shake Heav'n's basis, bring forth all my Warr,
 My Bow and Thunder, my Almightye Arms

Gird

685 we]] Stressed? 699 therefore] The h is broken in all copies examined. 704 trans fus'd]
 The second s is very faint in many copies examined. 711 Chariot,]] The comma is faint in
 all 1674 copies examined.

Book VI. *Paradise Lost.* 167

- 715 **Gird on, and Sword upon thy puissant Thigh ;**
 Pursue these sons of Darkness, drive them out
 From all Heav'ns bounds into the utter Deep :
 There let them learn, as likes them, to despise
 God and *Messiah* his anointed King.
- 720 He said, and on his Son with Rayes direct
 Shon full, he all his Father full exprest
 Ineffably into his face receiv'd,
 And thus the filial Godhead answering spake.
 O Father, O Supream of heav'nly Thrones,
 First, Highest, Holiest, Best, thou alwayes seekst
- 725 To glorifie thy Son, I alwayes thee,
 As is most just ; this I my Glorie account,
 My exaltation, and my whole delight,
 That thou in me well pleas'd, declarst thy will
 Fulfill'd, which to fulfil is all my bliss.
- 730 Scepter and Power, thy giving, I assume,
 And gladlier shall resign, when in the end
 Thou shalt be All in All, and I in thee
 For ever, and in mee all whom thou lov'st :
 But whom thou hat'st, I hate, and can put on
- 735 Thy terrors, as I put thy mildness on,
 Image of thee in all things; and shall soon,
 Armd with thy might, rid heav'n of these rebell'd,
 To thir prepar'd ill Mansion driven down
 To chains of darknes, and thi undying Worm,
- 740 That from thy just obedience could revolt,
 Whom to obey is happiness entire.
 Then shall thy Saints unmixt, and from thi impure
 Farr separate, circling thy holy Mount
 Unfained *Halleluiyahs* to thee sing,
- 745 Hymns of high praise, and I among them chief.
 So said, he o're his Scepter bowing, rose
 From the right hand of Glorie where he late,

M 4

And

720 *he]]* Almost certainly stressed. 723 *Thrones,]* The crossbar of the T is broken in all copies examined. 725 *glorifie]* The top of the fi ligature is broken in all copies examined. 726 *account,]* In most copies examined the o drops down and the alignment of type breaks at the extreme right in lines 727-731. 738 *thir]]* Stressed? 739 *darknes,]* Darknes, 746 *So]* Italic S *Scepter]* Italic S

168 *Paradise Lost.* Book VI.

- And the third sacred Morn began to shine
 Dawning through Heav'n : forth rush'd with whirl-
 750 The Chariot of Paternal Deitie, (wind sound
 Flashing thick flames, Wheele within Wheele un-
 It self instinct with Spirit, but convoyd drawn,
 By four Cherubic shapes, four Faces each
 Had wondrous, as with Starrs thir bodies all
 755 And Wings were set with Eyes, with Eyes the wheels
 Of Beril, and careering Fires between ;
 Over thir heads a chrystral Firmament,
 Whereon a Saphir Throne, inlaid with pure
 Amber, and colours of the showrie Arch.
 760 Hee in Celestial Panoplie all armd
 Of radiant *Urim*, work divinely wrought,
 Ascended, at his right hand Victorie
 Sate Eagle-wing'd, beside him hung his Bow
 And Quiver with three-bolted Thunder stor'd,
 765 And from about him fierce Effusion rowld
 Of smoak and bickering flame, and sparkles dire ;
 Attended with ten thousand thousand Saints,
 He onward came, farr off his coming shon,
 And twentie thousand (I thir number heard)
 770 Chariots of God, half on each hand were seen :
 Hee on the wings of Cherub rode sublime
 On the Chrystallin Skie, in Saphir Thron'd.
 Illustrious farr and wide, but by his own
 First seen, them unexpected joy surpriz'd,
 775 When the great Ensign of *Messiah* blaz'd
 Aloft by Angels born, his Sign in Heav'n :
 Under whose conduct *Michael* soon reduc'd
 His Armie, circumfus'd on either Wing,
 Under thir Head imbodyed all in one.
 780 Before him Power Divine his way prepar'd ;
 At his command the uprooted Hills retir'd

Each

Running Head. Lost.] The period is battered. 751 drawn,] (drawn, 755 Wings] The W is wrong font. wheels] (Wheels 772 Chrystallin] Crystallin 776 Heav'n:] Italic colon. 777 conduct] Conduct

Book VI. *Paradise Lost.* 169

Each to his place, they heard his voice and went
 Obsequious, Heav'n his wonted face renewd,
 And with fresh Flourets Hill and Valley smil'd.
 785 This saw his hapless Foes but stood obdur'd,
 And to rebellious fight rallied thir Powers
 Insensate, hope conceiving from despair.
 In heav'nly Spirits could such perversenes dwell?
 But to convince the proud what Signs availe,
 790 Or Wonders move th' obdurate to relent?
 They hard'nd more by what might most reclame,
 Grieving to see his Glorie, at the sight
 Took envie, and aspiring to his highth,
 Stood reimbattell'd fierce, by force or fraud
 795 Weening to prosper, and at length prevaile
 Against God and *Messiah*, or to fall
 In universal ruin last, and now
 To final Battel drew, disdaining flight,
 Or faint retreat; when the great Son of God
 800 To all his Host on either hand thus spake.
 Stand still in bright array ye Saints, here stand
 Ye Angels arm'd, this day from Battel rest;
 Faithful hath been your warfare, and of God
 Accepted, fearless in his righteous Cause,
 805 And as ye have receivd, so have ye don
 Invincibly; but of this cursed crew
 The punishment to other hand belongs,
 Vengeance is his, or whose he sole appoints;
 Number to this dayes work is not ordain'd
 810 Nor multitude, stand only and behold
 Gods indignation on these Godless pourd
 By mee, not you but mee they have despis'd,
 Yet envied; against mee is all thir rage,
 Because the Father, t' whom in Heav'n supream
 815 Kingdom and Power and Glorie appertains,

Hath

785 *Foes*] Foes, The comma seems to be needed. 786 *And to rebellious*] In 1674 copy 12 only the word to fails to print and the space for it is blank. It is likely that something lay on the type and then pulled off during the printing of the sheet found in that copy, as there is no lateral movement of the other type in this line. 795 *Weening*] The W is wrong font.
 803 *warfare*,] Warfare, 812 *By mee*,] By mee;

170 *Paradise Lost.* Book VI.

Hath honourd me according to his will.

Therefore to mee thir doom he hath assig'n'd ;

That they may have thir wish, to trie with mee

In Battel which the stronger proves, they all,

820 Or I alone against them, since by strength

They measure all, of other excellence

Nor emulous, nor care who them excells ;

Nor other strife with them do I voutsafe.

So spake the Son, and into terrour chang'd

825 His count'nce too severe to be beheld

And full of wrauth bent on his Enemies.

At once the Four spred out thir Starrie wings

With dreadful shade contiguous, and the Orbis

Of his fierce Chariot rowld, as with the sound

830 Of torrent Floods, or of a numerous Host.

Hee on his impious Foes right onward drove,

Gloomie as Night ; under his burning Wheeles

The stedfast Empyrean shook throughout,

All but the Throne it self of God. Full soon

835 Among them he arriv'd ; in his right hand

Grasping ten thousand Thunders, which he sent

Before him, such as in thir Soules infix'd

Plagues ; they astonisht all resistance lost,

All courage ; down thir idle weapons drop'd ;

840 O're Shields and Helmes, and helmed heads he rode

Of Thrones and mighty Seraphim prostrate,

That wisht the Mountains now might be again

Thrown on them as a shelter from his ire.

Nor less on either side tempestuous fell

845 His arrows, from the fourfold-visag'd Foure,

Distinct with eyes, and from the living Wheeles

Distinct alike with multitude of eyes,

One Spirit in them rul'd, and every eye

Glar'd lightning, and shot forth pernicious fire

Among

816 me]] Stressed. 832 Night;] The N is battered in all copies examined. 842 wisht] wish'd
846 Wheels] Wheels, The comma seems to be needed.

Book VI. *Paradise Lost.* 171

- 850 Among th' accurst, that witherd all thir strength,
 And of thir wonted vigour left them drain'd,
 Exhausted, spiritlefs, afflicted, fall'n.
 Yet half his strength he put not forth, but check'd
 His Thunder in mid Volie, for he meant
 855 Not to destroy, but root them out of Heav'n :
 The overthrown he rais'd, and as a Heard
 Of Goats or timerous flock together throngd
 Drove them before him Thunder-struck, pursu'd
 With terrors and with suries to the bounds
 860 And Chrystral wall of Heav'n, which op'ning wide,
 Rowld inward, and a spacious Gap disclos'd
 Into the wastful Deep ; the monstrous sight
 Strook them with horror backward, but far worse
 Urg'd them behind ; headlong themselves they threw
 865 Down from the verge of Heav'n, Eternal wrauth
 Burnt after them to the bottomless pit.
 Hell heard th' unsufferable noise, Hell saw
 Heav'n ruining from Heav'n and would have fled
 Affrighted ; but stiict Fate had cast too deep
 870 Her dark foundations, and too fast had bound.
 Nine dayes they fell ; confounded *Chaos* roard,
 And felt tenfold confusion in thir fall
 Through his wilde Anarchie, so huge a rout
 Incumberd him with ruin : Hell at last
 875 Yawning receavd them whole, and on them clos'd,
 Hell thir fit habitation fraught with fire
 Unquenchable, the house of woe and paine.
 Disburnd Heav'n rejoic'd, and soon repaird
 Her mural breach, returning whence it rowld.
 880 Sole Victor from th' expulsion of his Foes
Messiah his triumphal Chariot turnd :
 To meet him all his Saints, who silent stood
 Eye witnesses of his Almighty Acts,

With

Running Head. VI.] The broken period as on pages 89, 107, 121, and 185. 855 Heav'n:] Italic colon. 860 Chrystral] Chrystall 864 themselves] themfelvs 869 strict] The r is very faint in all copies examined. 878 Disburdn'd] The apostrophe is very faint in most copies and failed to print entirely in a few copies examined.

172 **Paradise Lost.** Book VI.

With Jubilie advanc'd ; and as they went,
 885 Shaded with branching Palme, each order bright,
 Sung Triumph, and him sung Victorious King,
 Son, Heir, and Lord, to him Dominion giv'n,
 Worthiest to Reign : he celebrated rode
 Triumphant through mid Heav'n, into the Courts
 890 And Temple of his mightie Father Thron'd
 On high : who into Glorie him receav'd,
 Where now he sits at the right hand of bliss.
 Thus measuring things in Heav'n by things on Earth
 At thy request, and that thou maist beware
 895 By what is past, to thee I have reveal'd
 What might have else to human Race bin hid ;
 The discord which befel, and Warr in Heav'n
 Among th' Angelic Powers, and the deep fall
 Of those too high aspiring, who rebell'd
 900 With *Satan*, hee who envies now thy state,
 Who now is plotting how he may seduce
 Thee also from obedience, that with him
 Bereavd of happiness thou maist partake
 His punishment, Eternal miserie ;
 905 Which would be all his solace and revenge,
 As a despite don against the most High,
 Thee once to gaine Companion of his woe.
 But list'n not to his Temptations, warne
 Thy weaker ; let it profit thee to have heard
 910 By terrible Example the reward
 Of disobedience ; firm they might have stood,
 Yet fell ; remember, and fear to transgres.

The End of the Sixth Book.

Paradise

887 Heir,] Heire, 891 high:] high; Catchword. Paradise] PARA-

This is another occurrence, at the beginning of Book 7, of the problem of making two states of the same page appear on facing pages. In order to do this with the two pages that follow, different states of the same recto page, this preceding recto is used for a sort of introduction to them; the first state is printed on the next page, a verso, and the second state appears as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.

Paradise Lost.

BOOK VII.

THE ARGUMENT.

Raphael at the request of Adam relates how and wherefore this world was first created; that God, after the expelling of Satan and his Angels out of Heaven, declar'd his pleasure to create another World and other Creatures to dwell therein; sends his Son with Glory and attendance of Angels to perform the work of Creation in six dayes: the Angels celebrate with Hymns the performance thereof, and his reascentien into Heaven.

Descend from Heav'n *Urania*, by that name
If rightly thou art call'd, whose Voice divine
Following, above th' *Olympian Hill* I soare,
Above the flight of *Pegasian wing*.
5 The meaning, not the Name I call: for thou
Nor of the Muses nine, nor on the top
Of old *Olympus* dwell'st, but Heav'nlie borne,
Before the Hills appeerd, or Fountain flow'd,

Thou

STATE I OF PAGE NUMBER

Page Number. 173] Many copies, numbers 18 and 19 for instance, set this page number as 171
Title. *Paradise Loft.*] PARADISE/ LOST. In 1674 the first a is the one with the nicks in the vertical stroke. The period after Loft. is too low. The rules are composite, not solid.

THE ARGUMENT. The Argument of 1674 Book 7 is the first half only of the Argument of 1667 Book 7, and the collation here is of 1674, 1668, and 1669. 1 Raphael] Raphael]] 2 world] world 5 Son]] Son 7 dayes:]] dayes:

THE TEXT. The Text of 1674 Book 7 is made up of lines 1-640 of 1667 Book 7. 7 Heav'nlie] The apostrophe is very faint in some copies examined.

173

Paradise Lost.

BOOK VII.

THE ARGUMENT.

Raphael at the request of Adam relates how and wherefore this world was first created; that God, after the expelling of Satan and his Angels out of Heaven, declar'd his pleasure to create another World and other Creatures to dwell therein; sends his Son with Glory and attendance of Angels to perform the work of Creation in six dayes: the Angels celebrate with Hymns the performance thereof, and his reascention into Heaven.

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Nor of the Muses nine, nor on the top
Of old *Olympus* dwell'st, but Heav'nlie borne,
Before the Hills appeerd, or Fountain flow'd,

Thou

174 *Paradise Lost.* Book VII.

Thou with Eternal wisdom didst converse,
 10 Wisdom thy Sister, and with her didst play
 In presence of th' Almighty Father, pleas'd
 With thy Celestial Song. Up led by thee
 Into the Heav'n of Heav'ns I have presum'd,
 An Earthlie Guest, and drawn Empyreal Aire,
 15 Thy tempring; with like safetie guided down
 Return me to my Native Element:
 Least from this flying Steed unrein'd, (as once
 Bellerophon, though from a lower Clime)
 Dismounted, on th' *Aleian* Field I fall
 20 Erroneous there to wander and forlorne.
 Half yet remains unsung but narrower bound
 Within the visible Diurnal Spheare;
 Standing on Earth, nor rapt above the Pole,
 More safe I Sing with mortal voice, unchang'd
 25 To hoarce or mute, though fail'n on evil dayes,
 On evil dayes though fail'n, and evil tongues;
 In darknes, and with dangers compast round,
 And solitude; yet not alone, while thou
 Visit'st my slumbers Nightly, or when Morn
 30 Purples the East: still govern thou my Song,
 Urania, and fit audience find, though few.
 But drive farr off the barbarous dissonance
 Of *Bacchus* and his revellers, the Race
 Of that wilde Rout that tore the *Thracian* Bard
 35 In *Rhodope*, where Woods and Rocks had Eares
 To rapture, till the savage clamor dround
 Both Harp and Voice; nor could the Muse defend
 Her Son. So fail not thou, who thee implores:
 For thou art Heav'nlie, shee an empty dreame.
 40 Say Goddefs, what ensud when *Raphael*,
 The affable Arch-Angel, had forewarn'd
 Adam by dire example to beware

Apostasie,

16 Element:] Italic colon. 20 Erroneous] Erroneous, The comma seems unnecessary.

24 voice,] The comma is faint, but always present. 27 round,] rouud,

33 revellers,] Revellers, In 1674 the top element of the comma is broken off in all copies examined.

39 Heav'nlie,] Heav'n lie, 41 Angel,] angel,

Book VII. *Paradise Lost.* 175

- Apostasie, by what befell in Heaven
To those Apostates, least the like befall
45 In Paradise to *Adam* or his Race,
Charg'd not to touch the interdicted Tree,
If they transgress, and slight that sole command,
So easily obeyd amid the choice
Of all tastes else to please thir appetite,
50 Though wandring. He with his consorted *Eve*
The storie heard attentive, and was fill'd
With admiration, and deep Muse to heare
Of things so high and strange, things to thir thought
So unimaginable as hate in Heav'n,
55 And Warr so neer the Peace of God in bliss
With such confusion : but the evil soon
Driv'n back redounded as a flood on those
From whom it sprung, impossible to mix
With Blessedness. Whence *Adam* soon repeal'd
60 The doubts that in his heart arose : and now
Led on, yet sinless, with desire to know
What neerer might concern him, how this World
Of Heav'n and Earth conspicuous first began,
When, and whereof created, for what cause,
65 What within *Eden* or without was done
Before his memorie, as one whose drouth
Yet scarce allay'd still eyes the current streame,
Whose liquid murmur heard new thirst excites,
Proceeded thus to ask his Heav'ly Guest.
70 Great things, and full of wonder in our eares,
Farr differing from this World, thou hast reveal'd
Divine interpreter, by favour sent
Down from the Empyrean to forewarne
Us timely of what might else have bin our losse,
75 Unknown, which human knowldg could not reach :
For which to the infinitely Good we owe

Immor-

49 taftes] tafts 50 wandring.] The recurrent faint period. 63 conspicuous] conspicuous
This is really only a spelling variant, see *Oxford English Dictionary* under both spellings.
69 ask] ask (ligature) 72 interpreter,] Interpreter,

174 *Paradise Lost.* Book VII.

- Immortal thanks, and his admonishment
 Receave with solemne purpose to observe
 Immutably his sovran will, the end
 80 Of what we are. But since thou hast voutsaf't
 Gently for our instruction to impart
 Things above Earthly thought, which yet concernd
 Our knowing, as to highest wisdom seemd,
 Deign to descend now lower, and relate
 85 What may no less perhaps availe us known,
 How first began this Heav'n which we behold
 Distant so high, with moving Fires adornd
 Innumerable, and this which yeelds or fills
 All space, the ambient Aire wide interfus'd
 90 Imbracing round this florid Earth, what cause
 Mov'd the Creator in his holy Rest
 Through all Eternitie so late to build
 In *Chaos*, and the work begun, how soon
 Absolv'd, if unforbid thou maist unfould
 95 What wee, not to explore the secrets aske
 Of his Eternal Empire, but the more
 To magnifie his works, the more we know.
 And the great Light of Day yet wants to run
 Much of his Race though steep, suspens in Heav'n
 100 Held by thy voice, thy potent voice he heares,
 And longer will delay to heare thee tell
 His Generation, and the rising Birth
 Of Nature from the unapparent Deep :
 Or if the Starr of Eevning and the Moon
 105 Haste to thy audience, Night with her will bring
 Silence, and Sleep listning to thee will watch,
 Or we can bid his absence, till thy Song
 End, and dismiss thee ere the Morning shine.
 Thus *Adam* his illustrious Guest besought :
 110 And thus the Godlike Angel answerd milde.

This

STATE I OF PAGE NUMBER

Page Number. 176] In some copies the page number is misprinted as 174 as in copy 20 for example. [Running Head. Loft.] The recurrent round period. 86 *we]] Stressed?*
 95 *aske]] aske* (ligature) 99 *suspens]]* The final f came from the 1674 compositor too closely following his 1667 copy. 107 *we]] Stressed?* 109 *illustrious]] illustrious*

176 *Paradise Lost.* Book VII.

- Immortal thanks, and his admonishment
 Receave with solemne purpose to observe
 Immutably his sovran will, the end
 80 Of what we are. But since thou hast voutsaf't
 Gently for our instruction to impart
 Things above Earthly thought, which yet concernd
 Our knowing, as to highest wisdom seemd,
 Deign to descend now lower, and relate
 85 What may no less perhaps availe us known,
 How first began this Heav'n which we behold
 Distant so high, with moving Fires adornd
 Innumerable, and this which yeelds or fills
 All space, the ambient Aire wide interfus'd
 90 Imbracing round this florid Earth, what cause
 Mov'd the Creator in his holy Rest
 Through all Eternitie so late to build
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 Absolv'd, if unforbid thou maist unfould
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 Of Nature from the unapparent Deep :
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 Or we can bid his absence, till thy Song
 End, and dismiss thee ere the Morning shine.
 Thus *Adam* his illustrious Guest besought :
 110 And thus the Godlike Angel answerd milde.

This

Because both the facing prints immediately before this page were versos as bound, this page is used only in order to have the next page, a recto as bound, print herein as a recto.

Book VII. *Paradise Lost.* 177

- This also thy request with caution askt
Obtaine: though to recount Almighty works
What words or tongue of Seraph can suffice,
Or heart of man suffice to comprehend?
- 115 Yet what thou canst attain, which best may serve
To glorifie the Maker, and inferr
Thee also happier, shall not be withheld
Thy hearing, such Commission from above
I have receav'd, to answer thy desire
- 120 Of knowledge within bounds; beyond abstain
To ask, nor let thine own inventions hope
Things not reveal'd, which th' invisible King,
Oneiy Omniscent, hath supprest in Night,
To none communicable in Earth or Heaven:
- 125 Anough is left besides to search and know.
But Knowledge is as food, and needs no less
Her Temperance over Appetite, to know
In measure what the mind may well contain,
Oppresses else with Surfeit, and soon turns
- 130 Wisdom to Folly, as Nourishment to Winde.
Know then, that after *Lucifer* from Heav'n
(So call him, brighter once amidst the Host
Of Angels, then that Starr the Starrs among)
Fell with his flaming Legions through the Deep
- 135 Into his place, and the great Son returnd
Victorius with his Saints, th' Omnipotent
Eternal Father from his Throne beheld
Thir multitude, and to his Son thus spake.
- At least our envious Foe hath fail'd, who thought
- 140 All like himself rebellious, by whose aid
This inaccessible high strength, the seat
Of Deitie supream, us dispossess,
He trusted to have seis'd, and into fraud
Drew many, whom thir place knows here no more;
- N Yet

116 the]] The word should probably be 'thy' but reads the in all copies of 1667 and 1674 examined. 136 Saints,] The recurrent faint comma. 138 spake.] In all copies examined the letters ke. drop down and the alignment of type breaks at the extreme right in lines 139-141. 140 rebellious,] The s is faint in all copies examined.

178 **Paradise Lost.** Book VII.

- 145 Yet far the greater part have kept, I see,
Thir station, Heav'n yet populous retaines
Number sufficient to possess her Realmes
Though wide, and this high Temple to frequent
With Ministeries due and solemn Rites :
- 150 But least his heart exalt him in the harme
Already done, to have dispeopl'd Heav'n
My damage fondly deem'd, I can repaire
That detriment, if such it be to lose
Self-lost, and in a moment will create
- 155 Another World, out of one man a Race
Of men innumerable, there to dwell,
Not here, till by degrees of merit rais'd
They open to themselves at length the way
Up hither, under long obedience tri'd,
- 160 And Earth be chang'd to Heav'n, & Heav'n to Earth,
One Kingdom, Joy and Union without end.
Mean while inhabit laxe, ye Powers of Heav'n,
And thou my Word, begotten Son, by thee
This I perform, speak thou, and be it don :
- 165 My overshadowing Spirit and might with thee
I send along, ride forth, and bid the Deep
Within appointed bounds be Heav'n and Earth,
Boundless the Deep, because I am who fill
In infinitude, nor vacuous the space.
- 170 Though I uncircumscrib'd my self retire,
And put not forth my goodness, which is free
To act or not, Necesitie and Chance
Approach not mee, and what I will is Fate.
So spake th' Almighty, and to what he spake
- 175 His Word, the filial Godhead, gave effect.
Immediate are the Acts of God, more swift
Then time or motion, but to human ears
Cannot without proceſs of speech be told,

So

Running Head. VII.] The roman numeral slants to the left and the period is too low.

151 Heav'n] Heav'n, 160 First Heav'n,] Heavn, 175 Word,] The d is faint in all copies examined. filial] Filial

Book VII. *Paradise Lost.* 179

- So told as earthly notion can receive.
 180 Great triumph and rejoicing was in Heav'n
 When such was heard declar'd the Almighty's will ;
 Glorie they sung to the most High, good will
 To future men, and in thir dwellings peace :
 Glorie to him whose just avenging ire
 185 Had driven out th' ungodly from his sight
 And th' habitations of the just ; to him
 Glorie and praise, whose wisdom had ordain'd
 Good out of evil to create, in stead
 Of Spirits maligne a better Race to bring
 190 Into thir vacant room, and thence diffuse
 His good to Worlds and Ages infinite.
 So sang the Hierarchies : Mean while the Son
 On his great Expedition now appeer'd,
 Girt with Omnipotence, with Radiance crown'd
 195 Of Majestic Divine, Sapience and Love
 Immense, and all his Father in him shon.
 About his Chariot numberless were pour'd
 Cherub and Seraph, Potentates and Thrones,
 And Vertues, winged Spirits, and Chariots wing'd,
 200 From the Armoury of God, where stand of old
 Myriads between two brazen Mountains lodg'd
 Against a solemn day, harnest at hand,
 Celestial Equipage ; and now came forth
 Spontaneous, for within them Spirit livd,
 205 Attendant on thir Lord : Heav'n op'nd wide
 Her ever during Gates, Harmonious sound
 On golden Hinges moving, to let forth
 The King of Glorie in his powerful Word
 And Spirit coming to create new Worlds.
 210 On heav'nly ground they stood, and from the shore
 They view'd the vast immeasurable Abyss
 Outrageous as a Sea, dark, wasteful, wilde,

N 2

Up

199-200 There is a break in the alignment of type at the extreme right of each line.

180 **Paradise Lost.** Book VII.

- Up from the bottom turn'd by furious windes
 And surging waves, as Mountains to assault
 215 Heav'n's highth, and with the Center mix the Pole.
 Silence, ye troubl'd waves, and thou Deep, peace,
 Said then th' Omnipic Word, your discord end:
 Nor staid, but on the Wings of Cherubim
 Uplifted, in Paternal Glorie rode
 220 Farr into *Chaos*, and the World unborn;
 For *Chaos* heard his voice: him all his Traine
 Follow'd in bright procession to behold
 Creation, and the wonders of his might.
 Then staid the fervid Wheeles, and in his hand
 225 He took the golden Compasses, prepar'd
 In Gods Eternal store, to circumscribe
 This Universe, and all created things:
 One foot he center'd, and the other turn'd
 Round through the vast profunditic obscure,
 230 And said, thus farr extend, thus farr thy bounds,
 This be thy just Circumference, O World.
 Thus God the Heav'n created, thus the Earth,
 Matter unform'd and void: Darkness profound
 Cover'd th' Abyss: but on the watrie calme
 235 His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspred,
 And vital vertue infus'd, and vital warmth
 Throughout the fluid Mass, but downward purg'd
 The black tartareous cold Infernal dregs
 Adverse to life: then founded, then conglob'd
 240 Like things to like, the rest to several place
 Disparted, and between spun out the Air,
 And Earth self ballanc't on her Center hung.
 Let ther be Light, said God, and forthwith Light
 Ethereal, first of things, quintessence pure
 245 Sprung from the Deep, and from her Native East
 To journie through the airie gloom began,

Spheard

Running Head. Lost.] The recurrent round period. 238 Infernal] infernal
 242 self ballanc't] self-ballanc't 244 Ethereal,] The t and comma are faint in all copies
 examined.

Book VII. *Paradise Lost.* 181

Sphear'd in a radiant Cloud, for yet the Sun
 Was not ; shee in a cloudie Tabernacle
 Sojourn'd the while. God saw the Light was good ;
 250 And light from darkness by the Hemisphere
 Divided : Light the Day, and Darkness Night
 He nam'd. Thus was the first Day Eev'n and Morn :
 Nor past uncelebrated, nor unsung
 By the Celestial Quires, when Orient Light
 255 Exhaling first from Darkness they beheld ;
 Birth-day of Heav'n and Earth ; with joy and shout
 The hollow Universal Orb they fill'd,
 And touch't thir Golden Harps, and hymning prais'd
 God and his works, Creatour him they sung,
 260 Both when first Eevning was, and when first Morn.
 Again, God said, let ther be Firmament
 Amid the Waters, and let it divide
 The Waters from the Waters : and God made
 The Firmament, expanse of liquid, pure,
 265 Transparent, Elemental Air, diffus'd
 In circuit to the uttermost convex
 Of this great Round : partition firm and sure,
 The Waters underneath from those above
 Dividing : for as Earth, so he the World
 270 Built on circumfluous Waters calme, in wide
 Crystallin Ocean, and the loud misrule
 Of *Chaos* farr remov'd, least fierce extremes
 Contiguous might distemper the whole frame :
 And Heav'n he nam'd the Firmament : So Eev'n
 275 And Morning *Chorus* sung the second Day.
 The Earth was form'd, but in the Womb as yet
 Of Waters, Embryon immature involv'd,
 Appear'd not : over all the face of Earth
 Main Ocean flow'd, not idle, but with warme
 280 Prolific humour soft'ning all her Globe,

N 3

Fermen-

258 and] & 261 ther]] Is this an attempt at an unstressed form for this word? 269 he] hee
 The word is stressed.

182 *Paradise Lost.* Book VII.

Fermented the great Mother to conceive,
 Satiate with genial moisture, when God said
 Be gather'd now ye Waters under Heav'n
 Into one place, and let dry Land appear.
 285 Immediately the Mountains huge appear
 Emergent, and thir broad bare backs upheave
 Into the Clouds, thir tops ascend the Skie :
 So high as heav'd the tumid Hills, so low
 Down sunk a hollow bottom broad and deep,
 290 Capacious bed of Waters : thither they
 Hasted with glad precipitance, uprowld
 As drops on dust conglobing from the drie ;
 Part rise in crystal Wall, or ridge direct,
 For haste ; such flight the great command impress'd
 295 On the swift floods : as Armies at the call
 Of Trumpet (for of Armies thou hast heard)
 Troop to thir Standard, so the watrie throng,
 Wave rowling after Wave, where way they found,
 If steep, with torrent rapture, if through Plaine,
 300 Soft-ebbing ; nor withstood them Rock or Hill,
 But they, or under ground, or circuit wide
 With Serpent errorr wandring, found thir way,
 And on the washie Oose deep Channels wore ;
 Easie, e're God had bid the ground be drie,
 305 All but within those banks, where Rivers now
 Stream, and perpetual draw thir humid traine.
 The dry Land, Earth, and the great receptacle
 Of congregated Waters he call'd Seas :
 Ard saw that it was good, and said, Let th' Earth
 310 Put forth the verdant Grafs, Herb yielding Seed,
 And Fruit Tree yielding Fruit after her kind ;
 Whose Seed is in her self upon the Earth.
 He scarce had said, when the bare Earth, till then
 Desert and bare, unsightly, unadorn d,

Brought

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 300 *Soft*] The t is faint in all copies examined. 309 *And*] The n is very faint in all copies examined. 310 *yielding*] yeilding 311 *yielding*] yeilding 313 *fcarce*] The r is very faint in all copies examined. 314 *unadorn d,*] The space is present, but no apostrophe shows in any 1674 copy examined.

Book VII. *Paradise Lost.* 183

- 315 Brought forth the tender Gras, whose verdure clad
 Her Universal Face with pleasant green,
 Then Herbs of every leaf, that sudden flour'd
 Op'ning thir various colours, and made gay
 Her bosom smelling sweet : and these scarce blown,
 320 Forth flourish't thick the clustering Vine, forth crept
 The smelling Gourd, up stood the cornie Reed
 Embattell'd in her field : and the humble Shrub,
 And Bush with frizlid hair implicit : last
 Rose as in Dance the stately Trees, and spred
 325 Thir branches hung with copious Fruit ; or gemm'd
 Thir blossoms:with high woods the hills were crownd,
 With tufts the vallies and each fountain side,
 With borders long the Rivers. That Earth now
 Seemd like to Heav'n, a seat where Gods might dwell,
 330 Or wander with delight, and love to haunt
 Her sacred shades : though God had yet not rain'd
 Upon the Earth, and man to till the ground
 None was, but from the Earth a dewie Mist
 Went up and waterd all the ground, and each
 335 Plant of the field, which e're it was in the Earth
 God made, and every Herb, before it grew
 On the green stumm ; God saw that it was good.
 So Eev'n and Morn recorded the Third Day.
 Again th' Almightye spake : Let there be Lights
 340 High in th' expanse of Heaven to divide
 The Day from Night ; and let them be for Signes,
 For Seasons, and for Dayes, and circling Years,
 And let them be for Lights as I ordaine
 Thir Office in the Firmament of Heav'n
 345 To give Light on the Earth ; and it was so.
 And God made two great Lights, great for thir use
 To Man, the greater to have rule by Day,
 The less by Night alterne : and made the Starrs,

N 4 And

Running Head. *Lost.*] The period is battered. 322 and] add
 326 blossoms:with] Blossoms: with Woods] Woods hills] Hills 327 and] &
 337 good.] good: 342 Years,] The recurrent faint s 347 greater] The a and t are battered
 in all copies examined.

184 *Paradise Lost.* Book VII.

- And set them in the Firmament of Heav'n
 350 To illuminate the Earth, and rule the Day
 In thir vicissitude, and rule the Night,
 And Light from Darkness to divide. God saw,
 Surveying his great Work, that it was good :
 For of Celestial Bodies first the Sun
 355 A mightie Spheare he fram'd, unlightsom first,
 Though of Ethereal Mould : then form'd the Moon
 Globose, and every magnitude of Starrs,
 And sowd with Starrs the Heav'n thick as a field :
 Of Light by farr the greater part he took,
 360 Transplanted from her cloudie Shrine, and plac'd
 In the Suns Orb, made porous to receive
 And drink the liquid Light, firm to retaine
 Her gather'd beams, great Palace now of Light.
 Hither as to thir Fountain other Starrs
 365 Repairing, in thir gold'n Urns draw Light,
 And hence the Morning Planet guilds her horns ;
 By tincture or reflection they augment
 Thir small peculiar, though from human sight
 So farr remote, with diminution seen.
 370 First in his East the glorious Lamp was seen,
 Regent of Day, and all th' Horizon round
 Invested with bright Rayes, jocond to run
 His Longitude through Heav'n's high rode : the gray
 Dawn, and the *Pleiades* before him danc'd
 375 Shedding sweet influence : less bright the Moon,
 But opposite in leveld West was set
 His mirror, with full face borrowing her Light
 From him, for other light she needed none
 In that aspect, and still that distance keepes
 380 Till night, then in the East her turn she shines,
 Revolvd on Heav'n's great Axe, and her Reign
 With thousand lesser Lights dividual holds,

With

357 *every*] everie 366 *her*] his The Morning Planet should mean Lucifer, and the pronoun should therefore be masculine; but the change here may have been deliberate. 370 *his East the*]] As in the first edition, the pronominal adjective and the definite article are transposed. Almost certainly the reading should be 'the East his' but neither 1667 nor 1674 so printed it. 377 *His*] The H is battered in all copies examined. 381 *Revolvd*] The second v is very faint in all copies examined.

Book VII. *Paradise Lost.* 185

With thousand thousand Starres, that then appeir'd
 Spangling the Hemisphere : then first adornd
 385 With thir bright Luminaries that Set and Rose,
 Glad Eevning and glad Morn crownd the fourth day.
 And God said, let the Waters generate
 Reptil with Spawn abundant, living Soule :
 And let Fowle flie above the Earth, with wings
 390 Displayd on the op'n Firmament of Heav'n.
 And God created the great Whales, and each
 Soul living, each that crept, which plenteously
 The waters generated by thir kindes,
 And every Bird of wing after his kinde ;
 395 And saw that it was good, and bles'd them, saying,
 Be fruitful, multiply, and in the Seas
 And Lakes and running Streams the waters fill ;
 And let the Fowle be multiply'd on the Earth.
 Forthwith the Sounds and Seas, each Creek and Bay
 400 With Frie innumerable swarme, and Shoales
 Of Fish that with thir Finns and shining Scales
 Glide under the green Wave, in Sculles that oft
 Bank the mid Sea : part single or with mate
 Graze the Sea weed thir pasture, and through Groves
 405 Of Coral stray, or sporting with quick glance
 Show to the Sun thir wav'd coats dropt with Gold,
 Or in thir Pearlie shells at ease, attend
 Moist nutriment, or under Rocks thir food
 In jointed Armour watch : on smooth the Seale,
 410 And bended Dolphins play : part huge of bulk
 Wallowing unweildie, enormous in thir Gate
 Tempest the Ocean : there Leviathan
 Hugest of living Creatures, on the Deep
 Strech't like a Promontorie sleeps or swimmes,
 415 And seems a moving Land, and at his Gilles
 Draws in, and at his Trunck spouts out a Sea.

Mean

Running Head. VII.] The broken period again, as on pages 89, 107, 121, and 171.
 386 Glad] Glad and] & 399 Second and] & 401 Finns] The F is below type alignment.
 404 and] & 412 there] The h is faint in all copies examined.

186 *Paradise Lost.* Book VII.

- Mean while the tepid Caves, and Fens and shoares
 Thir Brood as numerous hatch, from the Egg that
 Bursting with kindly rupture forth disclos'd (soon
 420 Thir callow young, but featherd soon and fledge
 They summ'd thir Penns, and soaring th' air sublime
 With clang despis'd the ground, under a cloud
 In prospect; there the Eagle and the Stork
 On Cliffs and Cedar tops thir Eyries build:
 425 Part loosly wing the Region, part more wise
 In common, rang'd in figure wedge thir way,
 Intelligent of seasons, and set forth
 Thir Aerie Caravan high over Sea's
 Flying, and over Lands with mutual wing
 430 Easing thir flight; so stears the prudent Crane
 Her annual Voiage, born on Windes; the Aire
 Floats, as they pass, fann'd with unnumber'd plumes:
 From Branch to Branch the smaller Birds with song
 Solac'd the Woods, and spred thir painted wings
 435 Till Ev'n, nor then the solemn Nightingal
 Ceas'd warbling, but all night tun'd her soft layes:
 Others on Silver Lakes and Rivers Bath'd
 Thir downie Brest; the Swan with Arched neck
 Between her white wings mantling proudly, Rowes
 440 Her state with Oarie feet: yet oft they quit
 The Dank, and rising on stiff Pennons, towre
 The mid Aereal Skie: Others on ground
 Walk'd firm; the crested Cock whose clarion sounds
 The silent hours, and th' other whose gay Traine
 445 Adorns him, colour'd with the Florid hue
 Of Rainbows and Starrie Eyes. The Waters thus
 With Fish replenisht, and the Aire with Fowle,
 Ev'ning and Morn solemniz'd the Fist day.
 The Sixt, and of Creation last arose
 450 With Eevning Harps and Mattin, when God said,

Let

The extreme right portion at the top of the page is distorted because of the tightly bound copy
 from which it was photographed. [450 Eevning] The second n is faint in all copies examined.

Book VII. *Paradise Lost.* 187

- Let th' Earth bring forth Foul living in her kinde,
 Cattel and Creeping things, and Beast of the Earth,
 Each in their kinde. The Earth obey'd, and strait
 Op'ning her fertil Woomb teem'd at a Birth
 455 Innumorous living Creatures, perfet formes,
 Limb'd and full grown: out of the ground up rose
 As from his Laire the wilde Beast where he wonns
 In Forrest wilde, in Thicket, Brake, or Den;
 Among the Trees in Pairs they rose, they walk'd:
 460 The Cattel in the Fields and Meddowes green:
 Those rare and solitarie, these in flocks
 Pasturing at once, and in broad Herds upsprung.
 The grassie Clods now Calv'd, now half appeir'd
 The Tawnie Lion, pawing to get free
 465 His hinder parts, then springs as broke from Bonds,
 And Rampant shakes his Brinded main; the Ounce,
 The Libbard, and the Tyger, as the Moale
 Rising, the crumbl'd Earth above them threw
 In Hillocks; the swift Stag from under ground
 470 Bore up his branching head: scarce from his mould
Behemoth biggest born of Earth upheav'd
 His vastnes: Fleec't the Flocks and bleating rose,
 As Plants: ambiguous between Sea and Land
 The River Horse and scalie Crocodile.
 475 At once came forth whatever creeps the ground,
 Infect or Worme; those wav'd thir limber fans
 For wings, and smallest Lineaments exact
 In all the Liveries dect of Summers pride
 With spots of Gold and Purple, azure and green:
 480 These as a line thir long dimension drew,
 Streaking the ground with sinuous trace; not all
 Minims of Nature; some of Serpent kinde
 Wondrous in length and corpulence involv'd
 Thir Snakie foulds, and added wings. First crept

The

451 **Foul**] Fowle The form of 1674 almost proves that Bentley was right, and that the word should be 'Soul' the error originally arising in 1667 was probably by the compositor mistaking the 'f' of the manuscript copy for 'f' and then setting it as a capital. I think that Milton or someone representing him tried to change it to 'Soul' from the 1667 'Fowle' and succeeded only in getting the final 'e' knocked off and the 'w' changed to u the initial F being left as it was.
 453. **their**] This word seems to be stressed. 471 **Behemoth**] The second e is very faint in all copies examined. 476 **Infect]** The ct ligature is broken in all copies examined. 479 **green:]** Italic colon.

188 *Paradise Lost.* Book VII.

- 485 The Parsimonious Emmer, provident
Of future, in small room large heart enclos'd,
Pattern of just equalitie perhaps
Hereafter, join'd in her popular Tribes
Of Commonaltie : swarming next appeer'd
490 The Female Bee that feeds her Husband Drone
Deliciously, and builds her waxen Cells
With Honey stor'd : the rest are numberless,
And thou thir Natures know'st, & gav'st them Names,
Needlest to thee repeated; nor unknown
495 The Serpent sutt'r'st Beast of all the field,
Of huge extent somtimes, with brazen Eyes
And hairie Main terrific, though to thee
Not noxious, but obedient at thy call.
Now Heav'n in all her Glorie shon, and rowld
500 Her motions, as the great first-Movers hand
First wheeld thir course; Earth in her rich attire
Consummate lovly smil'd ; Aire, Water, Earth,
By Fowl, Fish, Beast, was flown, was swum, was walkt
Frequent ; and of the Sixt day yet remain'd ;
505 There wanted yet the Master work, the end
Of all yet don ; a Creature who not prone
And Brute as other Creatures, but endu'd
With Sanctitie of Reason, might erect
His Stature, and upright with Front serene
510 Govern the rest, self-knowing, and from thence
Magnanimous to correspond with Heav'n,
But grateful to acknowledge whence his good
Descends, thither with heart and voice and eyes
Directed in Devotion, to adore
515 And worship God Supream, who made him chief
Of all his works : therefore the Omnipotent
Eternal Father (For where is not hee
Present) thus to his Son audibly spake.

Let

490 Female] Femal 493 &] and 494 Needlest]] The final t for what indubitably should be a final 's' escaped notice in both 1667 and 1674. repeated;] repeaed; 498 noxious,] The comma is battered in all copies examined. 502 Water,] The W is battered in all copies examined.

Book VII. *Paradise Lost.* 189

- Let us make now Man in our image, Man
 520 In our similitude, and let them rule
 Over the Fish and Fowle of Sea and Aire,
 Beast of the Field, and over all the Earth,
 And every creeping thing that creeps the ground.
 This said, he formd thee, *Adam*, thee O Man
 525 Dust of the ground, and in thy nostrils breath'd
 The breath of Life ; in his own Image hee
 Created thee, in the Image of God
 Express, and thou becam'st a living Soul.
 Male he created thee, but thy consort
 530 Female for Race ; then bles'd Mankinde, and said,
 Be fruitful, multiplie, and fill the Earth,
 Subdue it, and throughout Dominion hold
 Over Fish of the Sea, and Fowle of the Aire,
 And every living thing that moves on the Earth.
 535 Wherever thus created, for no place
 Is yet distinct by name, thence, as thou know'st
 He brought thee into this delicious Grove,
 This Garden, planted with the Trees of God,
 Delectable both to behold and taste ;
 540 And freely all thir pleasant fruit for food
 Gave thee, all sorts are here that all th' Earth yeilds,
 Varietie without end ; but of the Tree
 Which tast'd works knowledge of Good and Evil,
 Thou mai'st not ; in the day thou eat'st, thou di'ft ;
 545 Death is the penaltie impos'd, beware,
 And govern well thy appetite, least sin
 Surprise thee, and her black attendant Death.
 Here finish'd hee, and all that he had made
 View'd, and behold all was entirely good ;
 550 So Ev'n and Morn accomplish'd the Sixt day :
 Yet not till the Creator from his work
 Desisting, though unwearyed, up returnd

Up

530 Female] Femal 541 yeilds,] yeelds, 544 di'ft;] The 1674 apostrophe is very faint, but always present. 548 he]] Stressed?

190 *Paradise Lost.* Book VII.

- Up to the Heav'n of Heav'ns his high abode,
 Thence to behold this new created World
 555 Th' addition of his Empire, how it shew'd
 In prospect from his Throne, how good, how faire,
 Answering his great Idea. Up he rode
 Followd with acclamation and the sound
 Symphonious of ien thousand Harpes that tun'd
 560 Angelic harmonies: the Earth, the Aire
 Resounded, (thou remember'st, for thou heardst)
 The Heav'ns and all the Constellations rung,
 The Planets in thir station lift'ning stood,
 While the bright Pomp ascended jubilant.
 565 Open, ye everlasting Gates, they sung,
 Open, ye Heav'ns, your living dores ; let in
 The great Creator from his work returnd
 Magnificent, his Six days work, a World ;
 Open, and henceforth oft ; for God will deigne
 570 To visit oft the dwellings of just Men
 Delighted, and with frequent intercourse
 Thither will send his winged Messengers
 On errands of supernal Grace. So sung
 The glorious Train ascending: He through Heav'n,
 575 That open'd wide her blazing Portals, led
 To Gods Eternal house direct the way,
 A broad and ample rode, whose dust is Gold
 And pavement Starrs, as Starrs to thee appear,
 Seen in the Galaxie, that Milkie way
 580 Which nightly as a circling Zone thou seest
 Pouderd with Starrs. And now on Earth the Seventh
 Eev'ning arose in *Eden*, for the Sun
 Was set, and twilight from the East came on,
 Forerunning Night ; when at the holy mount
 585 Of Heav'ns high-seated top, th' Impereal Throne
 Of Godhead, fixt for ever firm and sure,

The

563 station] stations Undoubtedly this word should be plural. lift'ning] The st ligature is broken in all copies examined. 574 Hell] Almost certainly stressed. 577 dust] The st ligature is faint in all copies examined. 581 Seventh] Seaventh

Book VII. *Paradise Lost.* 191

- The Filial Power arriv'd, and fate him down
 With his great Father (for he also went
 Invisible, yet staid (such priviledge
 590 Hath Omnipresence) and the work ordain'd,
 Author and end of all things, and from work
 Now resting, bless'd and hallowd the Seav'nth day,
 As resting on that day from all his work,
 But not in silence holy kept ; the Harp
 595 Had work and rested not, the solemn Pipe,
 And Dulcimer, all Organs of sweet stop,
 All sounds on Fret by String or Golden Wire
 Temper'd soft Tunings, intermixt with Voice
 Choral or Unison : of incense Clouds
 600 Fuming from Golden Censers hid the Mount.
 Creation and the Six dayes acts they sung,
 Great are thy works, *Jehovah*, infinite
 Thy power; what thought can measure thee or tongue
 Relate thee ; greater now in thy return
 605 Then from the Giant Angels ; thee that day
 Thy Thunders magnifi'd ; but to create
 Is greater then created to destroy.
 Who can impair thee, mighty King, or bound
 Thy Empire ? easily the proud attempt
 610 Of Spirits apostat and thir Counsels vaine
 Thou hast repeld, while impiously they thought
 Thee to diminish, and from thee withdraw
 The number of thy worshippers. Who seekes
 To lessen thee, against his purpose serves
 615 To manifest the more thy might : his evil
 Thou usest, and from thence creat'st more good.
 Witness this new-made World, another Heav'n
 From Heaven Gate not farr, founded in view
 On the cleer *Hyaline*, the Glassie Sea ;
 620 Of amplitude almost immense, with Starr's
 Numerous,

588 (for)] Either the comma in the next line after Invisible, should be a parenthesis, or the parenthesis here should be a comma. The 1674 compositor was following his 1667 copy too slavishly to make the proper change here.

192 *Paradise Lost.* Book VII.

Numerous, and every Starr perhaps a World
Of destind habitation; but thou know'st
Thir seasons: among these the seat of men,
Earth with her nether Ocean circumfus'd,

625 Thir pleasant dwelling place. Thrice happie men,
And sons of men, whom God hath thus advanc't,
Created in his Image, there to dwell
And worship him, and in reward to rule

Over his Works, on Earth, in Sea, or Air,
630 And multiply a Race of Worshippers
Holy and just: thrice happie if they know
Thir happiness, and persevere upright.

So sung they, and the Empyrean rung,
With *Halleluiahs*: Thus was Sabbath kept.

635 And thy request think now fulfill'd, that ask'd
How first this World and face of things began,
And what before thy memorie was don
From the beginning, that posteritie
Inform'd by thee might know; if else thou seek'st
640 Aught, not surpassing human measure, say.

The End of the Seventh Book.

Paradise

625 *Thrice*] The dot above the i is battered in all copies examined. 634 *Halleluiahs*:] Italic colon. 640 Book 7, 1674, ends with this line. The 1667 edition continues Book 7 of that edition to the end of 1674 Book 8.

In order to keep 1674 Book 8, page 193, as a recto and to have the reproduction from 1667 opposite it, this preceding recto is used for a sort of introduction. On its verso appears the reproduction from 1667, originally printed recto, and the 1674 page 193 follows as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.

Paradise lost.

Book 7.

- Thir seasons: among these the seat of men,
 Earth with her nether Ocean circumfus'd,
 Thir pleasant dwelling place. Thrice happy men,
 And sons of men, whom God hath thus advanc't,
 Created in his Image, there to dwell
 And worship him, and in reward to rule
 Over his Works, on Earth, in Sea, or Air,
 And multiply a Race of Worshippers
 Holy and just: thrice happy if they know
 Thir happiness, and persevere upright.
 So sung they, and the Empyrean rung,
 With *Halleluiahs*: Thus was Sabbath kept.
 And thy request think now fulfill'd, that ask'd
 How first this World and face of things began,
 And what before thy memorie was don
 From the beginning, that posteritie
 Informd by thee might know; if else thou seekst
 Aught, not surpassing human measure, say.
 To whom thus *Adam* gratefully repli'd.
 What thanks sufficient, or what recompence
 Equal have I to render thee, Divine
 Historian, who thus largely hast allayd
 The thirst I had of knowledge, and voutlast
 This friendly condescension to relate
 Things else by me unsearchable, now heard
 VVith wonder, but delight, and, as is due,
 With glorie attributed to the high
 Creator; some thing yet of doubt remaines,
 VVhich onely thy solution can resolve.
 VVhen I behold this goodly Frame, this VWorld
 Of Heav'n and Earth consisting, and compate,
 Thir magnitudes, this Earth a spot, a graine,

630

640

650

An

193

Paradise Lost.

BOOK VIII.

THE ARGUMENT.

Adam inquires concerning celestial Motions, is doubtfully answer'd, and exhorted to search rather things more worthy of knowledg: Adam assents, and still desirous to detain Raphael, relates to him what he remember'd since his own Creation, his placing in Paradise, his talk with God concerning solitude and fit society, his first meeting and Nuptials with Eve, his discourse with the Angel thereupon; who after admonitions repeated departs.

THE Angel ended, and in Adams Eare
So Charming left his voice, that he a while
Thought him still speaking, still stood fixt to
Then as new wak't thus gratefully repli'd. (hear;
What thanks sufficient, or what recompence
Equal have I to render thee, Divine
Hystorian, who thus largely hast allayd
The thirst I had of knowledge, and yoursaf't
O This

Title. *Paradise Lost.] PARADISE/ LOST.* The rules are composite, not solid.

THE ARGUMENT. The Argument of 1674 Book 8 is the last half of the Argument of 1667 Book 7, and the collation here is of 1674, 1668, and 1669. 1 Adam inquires] Adam then inquires]] 2 search]] seek 6 solitude]] solitude

THE TEXT. 1-3 These lines were added in 1674, and line 4 was slightly modified. See 1667 reproduction on opposite page. The Text of 1674 Book 8 contains the last half of 1667 Book 7, lines 641-1290, and the three lines added at the beginning of 1674 Book 8.
4 Then as new wak't thus gratefully repli'd.] To whom thus Adam gratefully repli'd.
5 recompence]. The first c is very faint in all copies examined. 7 thus] The s is faint in most copies examined.

194 *Paradise Lost.* Book VIII.

- This friendly condescension to relate
 10 Things else by me unsearchable, now heard
 With wonder, but delight, and, as is due,
 With glorie attributed to the high
 Creator ; something yet of doubt remaines ,
 Which onely thy solution can resolve.
 15 When I behold this goodly Frame, this World
 Of Heav'n and Earth consisting, and compute,
 Thir magnitudes, this Earth a spot,a graine,
 An Atom, with the Firmament compar'd
 And all her numberd Starrs, that seem to rowle
 20 Spaces incomprehensible (for such
 Thir distance argues and thir swift return
 Diurnal)meerly to officiate light
 Round this opacous Earth, this punctual spot,
 One day and night ; in all thir vast survey
 25 Useless besides, reasoning I oft admire,
 How Nature wise and frugal could commit
 Such disproportions, with superfluous hand
 So many nobler Bodies to create,
 Greater so manifold to this one use,
 30 For aught appears, and on thir Orbs impose
 Such restless revolution day by day
 Repeated, while the sedentarie Earth,
 That better might with farr less compass move,
 Serv'd by more noble then her self, attaines
 35 Her end without least motion, and receaves,
 As Tribute such a sumless journey brought
 Of incorporeal speed, her warmth and light ;
 Speed, to describe whose swiftness Number failes.
 So spake our Sire, and by his count'rance seemd
 40 Entring on studious thoughts abstruse, which *Eve*
 Perceaving where she sat retir'd in sight,
 With lowliness Majestic from her seat,

And

13 something] some thing 22 Diurnal)meerly] So spaced in all copies examined.

Book VIII. *Paradise Lost.* 195

- And Grace that won who saw to wish her stay,
Rose, and went forth among her Fruits and Flours,
45 To visit how they prosper'd, bud and bloom,
Her Nurserie ; they at her coming sprung
And toucht by her fair tendance gladlier grew.
Yet went she not, as not with such discourse
Delighted, or not capable her eare
50 Of what was high : such pleasure she reserv'd,
Adam relating, she sole Auditress ;
Her Husband the Relater she preferr'd
Before the Angel, and of him to ask
Chose rather ; hee, she knew would intermix
55 Grateful digressions, and solve high dispute
With conjugal Caresses, from his Lip
Not Words alone pleas'd her. O when meet now
Such pairs, in Love and mutual Honour joyn'd ?
With Goddes-like demeanour forth she went ;
60 Not unattended, for on her as Queen
A pomp of winning Graces waited still,
And from about her shot Darts of desire
Into all Eyes to wish her still in sight.
And *Raphael* now to *Adam's* doubt propos'd
65 Benevolent and facil thus repli'd.
To ask or search I blame thee not, for Heav'n
Is as the Book of God before thee set,
Wherein to read his wondrous Works, and learne
His Seasons, Hours, or Dayes, or Months, or Yeares :
70 This to attain, whether Heav'n move or Earth,
Imports not, if thou reck'n right, the rest
From Man or Angel the great Architect
Did wisely to conceal, and not divulge
His secrets to be scann'd by them who ought
75 Rather admire ; or if they list to try
Conjecture, he his Fabric of the Heav'ns

O 2

Hath

⁴⁶ Nurserie;]] The semicolon is faint in many copies, but unmistakable. coming] The n is faint in all copies examined. ⁵¹ she]] But stressed. ⁵² she]] But stressed. ⁶¹ Graces] The G is broken in all copies examined. ⁶⁴ Adam's] *Adam's* ⁶⁹ Dayes,] Days, Yeares:] Italic colon.

196 *Paradise Lost.* Book VIII.

- Hath left to thir disputes, perhaps to move
 His laughter at thir quaint Opinions wide
 Hereafter, when they come to model Heav'n
 80 And calculate the Starrs, how they will weild
 The mightie frame, how build, unbuild, contrive
 To save appeerances, how gird the Sphear
 With Centric and Eccentric scribl'd o're,
 Cycle and Epicycle, Orb in Orb :
 85 Alreadie by thy reasoning this I gues,
 Who art to lead thy offspring, and supposest
 That bodies bright and greater should not serve
 The les not bright, nor Heav'n such journies run,
 Earth sitting still, when she alone receaves
 90 The benefit : consider first, that Great
 Or Bright inferrs not Excellence : the Earth
 Though, in comparison of Heav'n, so small,
 Nor glistening, may of solid good containe
 More plenty then the Sun that barren shines,
 95 Whose vertue on it self workes no effect,
 But in the fruitful Earth; there first receavd
 His beams, unactive else, thir vigour find.
 Yet not to Earth are those bright Luminaries
 Officious, but to thee Earths habitant.
 100 And for the Heav'ns wide Circuit, let it speak
 The Makers high magnificence, who built
 So spacious, and his Line stretcht out so farr;
 That Man may know he dwells not in his own ;
 An Edifice too large for him to fill,
 105 Lodg'd in a small partition, and the rest
 Ordain'd for uses to his Lord best known.
 The switnes of those Circles attribute,
 Though numberless, to his Omnipotence,
 That to corporeal substances could adde
 110 Speed almost Spiritual ; mee thou thinkst not slow,
- Who

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 87 bodies] Bodies 97 vigour] vigor
 109 That] The *h* is very faint in many copies examined.

Book VIII. *Paradise Lost.* 197

- Who since the Morning hour set out from Heav'n
 Where God resides, and ere mid-day arriv'd
 In *Eden*, distance inexpressible
 By Numbers that have name. But this I urge,
 115 Admitting Motion in the Heav'ns, to shew
 Invalid that which thee to doubt it mov'd ;
 Not that I so affirm, though so it seem
 To thee who hast thy dwelling here on Earth.
 God to remove his wayes from human sense,
 120 Plac'd Heav'n from Earth so farr, that earthly sight,
 If it presume, might erre in things too high,
 And no advantage gaine. What if the Sun
 Be Center to the World, and other Starrs
 By his attractive vertue and thir own
 125 Incited, dance about him various rounds ?
 Thir wandring course now high, now low, then hid,
 Progressive, retrograde, or standing still,
 In six thou seest, and what if sev'nh to these
 The Planet Earth, so stedfast though she seem,
 130 Insensibly three different Motions move ?
 Which else to several Sphears thou must ascribe,
 Mov'd contrarie with thwart obliquities,
 Or save the Sun his labour, and that swift
 Nocturnal and Diurnal rhomb suppos'd,
 135 Invisible else above all Starrs, the Wheele
 Of Day and Night ; which needs not thy beleefe,
 If Earth industrious of her self fetch Day
 Travelling East, and with her part averse
 From the Suns beam meet Night, her other part
 140 Still luminous by his ray. What if that light
 Sent from her through the wide transpicuous aire,
 To the terrestrial Moon be as a Starr
 Enlightning her by Day, as she by Night
 This Earth ? reciprocal, if Land be there,

O 3

Feilds

120 Plac'd] The apostrophe is faint in many copies examined. farr] In more than half the copies examined the first r is battered as shown in the reproduction above; in other copies the r is clear. 134 Nocturnal] Space after the o in 1674. 138 Travelling] The n is faint in all copies examined.

198 *Paradise Lost.* Book VIII.

- 145 Feilds and Inhabitants : Her spots thou seeſt
As Clouds, and Clouds may rain, and Rain produce
Fruits in her soft'nd Soile, for ſome to eate
Allotted there ; and other Suns perhaps
With thir attendant Moons thou wilt descrie
- 150 *Communicating Male and Femal Light,*
Which two great Sexes animate the World,
Stor'd in each Orb perhaps with ſome that live,
For ſuch vast room in Nature unpoſteſt
By living Soule, deſert and deſolate,
- 155 *Onely to ſhine, yet ſcarce to contribute*
Each Orb a glimph of Light, conveyd ſo farr
Down to this habitable, which returnes
Light back to them, is obvious to diſpute.
But whether thus theſe things, or whether not,
- 160 *Whether the Sun predominant in Heav'n*
Rife on the Earth, or Earth rife on the Sun,
Hee from the Eaſt his flaming rode begin,
Or Shee from West her ſilent course advance
With inoffenſive pace that ſpinning ſleeps
- 165 *On her soft Axle, while ſhe paces Eev'n,*
And beares thee ſoft with the ſmooth Air along,
Sollicit not thy thoughts with matters hid,
Leave them to God above, him ſerve and feare ;
Of other Creatures, as him pleaſes best,
- 170 *Wherever plac't, let him diſpoſe : joy thou*
In what he gives to thee, this Paradise
And thy faire Eve ; Heav'n is for thee too high
To know what paſſes there ; be lowlie wiſe :
Think onely what concerneſ thee and thy being ;
- 175 *Dream not of other Worlds, what Creatures there*
Live, in what ſtate, condition or degree,
Contented that thus farr hath been reveal'd
Not of Earth onely but of highest Heav'n.

To

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 145 *Inhabitants:*] Italic colon.
 151 *Which*] The W is wrong font. 163 *ſilent*] The fi ligature is broken in all copies examined.
 166 *beares*] bears

Book VIII. *Paradise Lost.* 199

- To whom thus *Adam* cleerd of doubt, repli'd.
 180 How fully hast thou satisfi'd mee, pure
 Intelligence of Heav'n, Angel serene,
 And freed from intricacies, taught to live,
 The easiest way, nor with perplexing thoughts
 To interrupt the sweet of Life, from which
 185 God hath bid dwell farr off all anxious cares,
 And not molest us, unless we our selves
 Seek them with wandring thoughts, and notions vain.
 But apt the Mind or Fancie is to roave
 Uncheckt, and of her roaving is no end ;
 190 Till warn'd, or by experience taught, she learne,
 That not to know at large of things remote
 From use, obscure and subtle, but to know
 That which before us lies in daily life,
 Is the prime Wisdom, what is more, is fume,
 195 Or emptiness, or fond impertinence,
 And renders us in things that most concerne
 Unpractis'd, unprepar'd, and still to seek.
 Therefore from this high pitch let us descend
 A lower flight, and speak of things at hand
 200 Useful, whence haply mention may arise.
 Of somthing not unseasonable to ask
 By sufferance, and thy wonted favour deign'd.
 Thee I have heard relating what was don
 Ere my remembrance : now hear mee relate
 205 My Storie, which perhaps thou hast not heard ;
 And Day is yet not spent ; till then thou seest
 How suttly to detaine thee I devise,
 Inviting thee to hear while I relate,
 Fond, were it not in hope of thy reply :
 210 For while I sit with thee, I seem in Heav'n,
 And sweeter thy discourse is to my eare
 Then Fruits of Palm-tree pleasantest to thirst

O 4 And

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 186 *selves*] The recurrent faint s
 187 *vain.*] *vaine.* 211 *discourse*] The top of the second f is broken off in all copies examined.

200 *Paradise Lost.* Book VIII.

- And hunger both, from labour, at the houre
Of sweet repast ; they satiate, and soon fill,
215 Though pleasant, but thy words with Grace Divine
Imbu'd, bring to thir sweetnes no satietie.
To whom thus *Raphael* answer'd heav'ly meek.
Nor are thy lips ungraceful, Sire of men,
Nor tongue ineloquent ; for God on thee
220 Abundantly his gifts hath also pour'd
Inward and outward both, his image faire :
Speaking or mute all comeliness and grace
Attends thee, and each word, each motion formes,
Nor less think wee in Heav'n of thee on Earth
225 Then of our fellow servant, and inquire
Gladly into the wayes of God with Man :
For God we see hath honour'd thee, and set
On Man his Equal Love : say therefore on ;
For I that Day was absent, as befell,
230 Bound on a voyage uncouth and obscure,
Farr on excursion toward the Gates of Hell ;
Squar'd in full Legion (such command we had)
To see that none thence issu'd forth a spie,
Or enemie, while God was in his work,
235 Least hee incenst at such eruption bold,
Destruction with Creation might have mixt.
Not that they durst without his leave attempt,
But us he sends upon his high behests
For state, as Sovran King, and to enure
240 Our prompt obedience. Fast we found, fast shut
The dismal Gates, and barricado'd strong ;
But long ere our approaching heard within
Noise, other then the sound of Dance or Song,
Torment, and loud lament, and furious rage.
245 Glad we return'd up to the coasts of Light
Ere Sabbath Eev'ning : so we had incharge.

But

223 formes,) formes. The 1674 comma was probably due to foul case. 228 Equal] equal
234 his] The recurrent faint s 238 fends] The top of the f is broken off in all copies examined.
244 loud] lowd The 1667 form may have been the word Milton wanted. See *Oxford English Dictionary*, 'low' v.⁴ and *Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings*, 1659, (Columbia) volume 6:93:3 'loubel' Neither form is in Phillips, *New World of Words*, 1658 and later.

Book VIII. *Paradise Lost.* 201

- But thy relation now ; for I attend,
 Pleas'd with thy words no less then thou with mine.
 So spake the Godlike Power, and thus our Sire.
- 250 For Man to tell how human Life began
 Is hard ; for who himself beginning knew ?
 Desire with thee still longer to converse
 Induc'd me. As new wak't from soundest sleep
 Soft on the flourie herb I found me laid
- 255 In Balmie Sweat, which with his Beames the Sun
 Soon dri'd, and on the reaking moisture fed.
 Strait toward Heav'n my wondring Eyes I turnd,
 And gaz'd a while the ample Skie, till rais'd
 By quick instinctive motion up I sprung,
- 260 As thitherward endevoring, and upright
 Stood on my feet ; about me round I saw
 Hill, Dale, and shadie Woods, and sunnie Plaines,
 And liquid Lapse of murmuring Streams ; by these,
 Creatures that livd, and movd, and walk'd, or flew,
- 265 Birds on the branches warbling ; all things smil'd,
 With fragrance and with joy my heart oreflow'd.
 My self I then perus'd, and Limb by Limb
 Survey'd, and sometimes went, and sometimes ran
 With supple joints, and lively vigour led :
- 270 But who I was, or where, or from what cause,
 Knew not ; to speak I tri'd, and forthwith spake,
 My Tongue obey'd and readily could name
 What e're I saw. Thou Sun, said I, faire Light,
 And thou enlight'nd Earth, so fresh and gay,
- 275 Ye Hills and Dales, ye Rivers, Woods, and Plaines,
 And ye that live and move, fair Creatures, tell,
 Tell, if ye saw, how came I thus, how here ?
 Not of my self ; by some great Maker then,
 In goodness and in power præminent ;
- 280 Tell me, how may I know him, how adore,

From

269 and] as So great is the difference in meaning effected by this seemingly simple typographical change that it is impossible to exclude the possibility of the change originating with Milton. That is, it may have arisen as more or less of an accident from the compositor, or intentionally from the author himself. 276 Creatures,] The s is faint in all copies examined.

202 *Paradise Lost.* Book VIII.

- From whom I have that thus I move and live,
 And feel that I am happier then I know,
 While thus I call'd, and stray'd I knew not whither,
 From where I first drew Aire, and first beheld
 285 This happie Light, when answer none return'd,
 On a green shadie Bank profuse of Flours
 Penlive I fate me down; there gentle sleep
 First found me, and with soft oppression seis'd
 My droused sense, untroubl'd, though I thought
 290 I then was passing to my former state
 Insensible, and forthwith to dissolve:
 When suddenly stood at my Head a dream,
 Whose inward apparition gently mov'd
 My fancy to believe I yet had being,
 295 And livd: One came, methought, of shape Divine,
 And said, thy Mansion wants thee, *Adam*, rise,
 First Man, of Men innumerable ordain'd
 First Father, call'd by thee I come thy Guide
 To the Garden of bliss, thy seat prepar'd.
 300 So saying, by the hand he took me rais'd,
 And over Fields and Waters, as in Aire
 Smooth sliding without step, last led me up
 A woodie Mountain, whose high top was plaine,
 A Circuit wide, enclos'd, with goodliest Trees
 305 Planted, with Walks, and Bowers, that what I saw
 Of Earth before scarce pleasant seemd. Each Tree
 Load'n with fairest Fruit that hung to the Eye
 Tempting, stirr'd in me sudden appetite
 To pluck and eare; whereat I wak'd, and found
 310 Before mine Eyes all real, as the dream
 Had lively shadowd: Here had new begun
 My wandring, had not hee who was my Guide
 Up hither, from among the Trees appeir'd
 Presence Divine, Rejoycing, but with aw

Ia

294 fancy] Fancy 306 scarce] scarse 307 Fruit] Fruit, 312 was] The s is faint in most copies examined. 313 appeir'd] appeir'd, 314 Rejoycing,]] The comma is very faint in all copies examined, but certainly present.

Book VIII. *Paradise Lost.* 203

- 315 In adoration at his feet I fell
 Submiss: he rear'd me, and Whom thou soughtst I am,
 Said mildly, Author of all this thou seest
 Above, or round about thee or beneath.
 This Paradise I give thee, count it thine
 320 To Till and keep, and of the Fruit to eate :
 Of every Tree that in the Garden growes
 Eate freely with glad heart ; fear here no dearth :
 But of the Tree whose operation brings
 Knowledg of good and ill, which I have set
 325 The Pledge of thy Obedience and thy Faith,
 Amid the Garden by the Tree of Life,
 Remember what I warne thee, shun to taste,
 And shun the bitter consequence : for know,
 The day thou eat'st thereof, my sole command
 330 Transgrest, inevitably thou shalt dye ;
 From that day mortal, and this happie State
 Shalt loose, expell'd from hence into a World
 Of woe and sorrow. Sternly he pronounc'd
 The rigid interdiction, which resounds
 335 Yet dreadful in mine eare, though in my choice
 Not to incur ; but soon his clearer aspect
 Return'd and gracious purpose thus renew'd.
 Not onely these fair bounds, but all the Earth
 To thee and to thy Race I give ; as Lords
 340 Posseſſ it, and all things that therein live,
 Or live in Sea, or Aire, Beast, Fish, and Fowle.
 In signe whereof each Bird and Beast behold
 After thir kindes ; I bring them to receave
 From thee thir Names, and pay thee fealtie
 345 With low subjection ; understand the same
 Of Fish within thir watry residence,
 Not bithir summond, since they cannot change
 Thir Element to draw the thinner Aire.

As

316 and] & 333 he]] Stressed. 337 gracious] gratiouſ

204 *Paradise Lost.* Book VIII.

- As thus he spake, each Bird and Beast behold
 350 Approaching two and two, These cowring low
 With blandishment, each Bird stoop'd on his wing.
 I nam'd them, as they pass'd, and understood
 Thir Nature, with such knowledg God endu'd
 My sudden apprehension : but in these
 355 I found not what me thought I wanted still ;
 And to the Heav'nly vision thus presum'd.
 O by what Name, for thou above all these,
 Above mankinde, or aught then mankinde higher,
 Surpasest farr my naming, how may I
 360 Adore thee, Author of this Universe,
 And all this good to man, for whose well being
 So amply, and with hands so liberal
 Thou hast provided all things : but with mee
 I see not who partakes. In solitude
 365 What happiness, who can enjoy alone,
 Or all enjoying, what contentment find ?
 Thus I presumptuous ; and the vision bright,
 As with a smile more bright'nd, thus repli'd.
 What call'st thou solitude, is not the Earth
 370 With various living creatures, and the Aire
 Replenish't, and all these at thy command
 To come and play before thee, know'st thou not
 Thir language and thir wayes, they also know,
 And reason not contemptibly ; with these
 375 Find pastime, and beare rule ; thy Realm is large.
 So spake the Universal Lord, and seem'd
 So ordering. I with leave of speech implor'd,
 And humble deprecation thus repli'd.
 Let not my words offend thee, Heav'nly Power,
 380 My Maker, be propitious while I speak.
 Hast thou not made me here thy substitute,
 And these inferiour farr beneath me set?

Among

350 These] Capital T following a comma as in 1667. 376 Lord,]] The comma is broken in all 1674 copies examined.

Book VIII. *Paradise Lost.* 205

- Among unequal what societie
 Can sort, what harmonie or true delight?
 385 Which must be mutual, in proportion due
 Giv'n and receiv'd; but in disparitie
 The one intense, the other still remiss
 Cannot well suite with either, but soon prove
 Tedious alike: Of fellowship I speak
 390 Such as I seek, fit to participate
 All rational delight, wherein the brute
 Cannot be human consort; they rejoyce
 Each with thir kinde, Lion with Lions;
 So fitly them in pairs thou hast combin'd;
 395 Much less can Bird with Beast, or Fish with Fowle
 So well converse, nor with the Ox the Ape;
 Worf then can Man with Beast, and least of all.
 Whereto th' Almighty answer'd, not displeas'd.
 A nice and subtle happiness I see
 400 Thou to thy self proposteſt, in the choice
 Of thy Associates, *Adam*, and wilt taste
 No pleasure, though in pleasure, solitarie.
 What thinkſt thou then of mee, and this my State,
 Seem I to thee ſufficiently poſteſt
 405 Of happiness, or not? who am alone
 From all Eternitie, for none I know
 Second to me or like, equal much less.
 How have I then with whom to hold converse
 Save with the Creatures which I made, and thofe
 410 To me inferiour, infinite deſcents
 Beneath what other Creatures are to thee?
 He ceas'd, I lowly answer'd. To attaine
 The highth and depth of thy Eternal wayes
 All human thoughts come ſhort, Supream of things;
 415 Thou in thy ſelf art perfet, and in thee
 Is no defiſcence found; not ſo is Man,

But

Page Number. 205] The o is battered in all copies examined. 397 Worf]] The rare final f taken blindly from 1667. 398 This line is indented in 1667. 407 me] mee The word is almost certainly stressed. 414 ſhort,]] The comma is faint in all 1674 copies examined, but unmistakable. 415 ſelf] The l is faint and the top of the f is broken off in all copies examined.

206 *Paradise Lost.* Book VIII.

But in degree, the cause of his desire
 By conversation with his like to help,
 Or solace his defects. No need that thou
 420 Shouldst propagat, already infinite ;
 And through all numbers absolute, though One ;
 But Man by number is to manifest
 His single imperfection, and beget
 Like of his like, his Image multipli'd,
 425 In unitie defective, which requires
 Collateral love, and deerest amitie.
 Thou in thy seceresie although alone,
 Best with thy self accompanied, seek'st not
 Social communication, yet so pleas'd,
 430 Canst raise thy Creature to what highth thou wilt
 Of Union or Communion, deifi'd ;
 I by conversing cannot these erect
 From prone, nor in thir wayes complacence find.
 Thus I embold'nd spake, and freedom us'd
 435 Permissive, and acceptance found, which gain'd
 This answer from the gratiouſ voice Divine.
 Thus farr to try thee, *Adam*, I was pleas'd,
 And finde thee knowing not of Beasts alone,
 Which thou hast rightly nam'd, but of thy self,
 440 Expressing well the spirit within thee free,
 My Image, not imparted to the Brute,
 Whose fellowship therefore unmeet for thee
 Good reason was thou freely shouldſt dislike,
 And be ſo minded ſtill ; I, ere thou ſpakſt,
 445 Knew it not good for Man to be alone,
 And no ſuch compagnie as then thou ſawſt
 Intended thee, for trial onely brought,
 To ſee how thou couldſt judge of fit and meet :
 What next I bring ſhall please thee, be affur'd,
 450 Thy likeneſs, thy fit help, thy other ſelf,

Thy

419 his] The recurrent faint s 428 accompanied,] The first c is very faint in all copies examined.
 447 thee,]] The comma in 1674 is very faint in all copies, and in some, there is no mark at all.
 The third edition omitted it. only]] Stressed.

Book VIII. *Paradise Lost.* 207

- Thy wish exactly to thy hearts desire.
 Hee ended, or I heard no more, for now
 My earthly by his Heav'ly overpowerd,
 Which it had long stood under, streind to the hight
 455 In that celestial Colloquie sublime,
 As with an object that excels the sense,
 Dazl'd and spent, sunk down, and sought repair
 Of sleep, which instantly fell on me, call'd
 By Nature as in aide, and clos'd mine eyes.
 460 Mine eyes he clos'd, but op'n left the Cell
 Of Fancie my internal sight, by which
 Abstract as in a transe methought I saw,
 Though sleeping, where I lay, and saw the shape
 Still glorious before whom awake I stood ;
 465 Who stooping op'nd my left side, and took
 From thence a Rib, with cordial spirits warme,
 And Life-blood streaming fresh; wide was the wound,
 But suddenly with flesh fill'd up and heal'd :
 The Rib he formd and fashond with his hands ;
 470 Under his forming hands a Creature grew,
 Manlike, but different Sex, so lovly faire,
 That what seemd fair in all the World, seemd now
 Mean, or in her summd up, in her containd
 And in her looks, which from that time infus'd
 475 Sweetnes into my heart, unfelt before,
 And into all things from her Aire inspir'd
 The spirit of love and amorous delight.
 Shee disappeerd, and left me dark, I wak'd
 To find her, or for ever to deplore
 480 Her loss, and other pleasures all abjure :
 When out of hope, behold her, not farr off,
 Such as I saw her in my dream, adornd
 With what all Earth or Heaven could bestow
 To make her amiable : On she came,

Led

451 *wish*] wish, 464 *stood*;] No 1674 copy examined is absolutely clear, but all have a double mark of some kind, the lower element of which is certainly a comma, and the top element a smear.
 466 *warme*;] warme, This case is very similar to that in line 464, as all 1674 copies examined have a mark above the comma. It is probably another foul case situation, and the punctuation should be a comma. 468 *and*] & 471 *Sex,]* sex, 478 *Shee*] She The word is stressed and the change is almost certainly intentional.

208 *Paradise Lost.* Book VIII.

- 485 Led by her Heav'nly Maker, though unseen,
 And guided by his voice, nor uninformed
 Of nuptial Sanctitie and marriage Rites :
 Grace was in all her steps, Heav'n in her Eye,
 In every gesture dignitie and love.
 490 I overjoyd could not forbear aloud.
 This turn hath made amends ; thou hast fulfill'd
 Thy words, Creator bounteous and benigne,
 Giver of all things faire, but fairest this
 Of all thy gifts, nor enviest. I now see
 495 Bone of my Bone, Flesh of my Flesh, my Self
 Before me ; Woman is her Name, of Man
 Extracted ; for this cause he shall forgoe
 Father and Mother, and to his Wife adhere ;
 And they shall be one Flesh, one Heart, one Soule.
 500 She heard me thus, and though divinely brought,
 Yet Innocence and Virgin Modestie,
 Her vertue and the conscience of her worth,
 That would be woo'd, and not unsought be won,
 Not obvious, not obtrusive, but retir'd,
 505 The more desirable, or to say all,
 Nature her self, though pure of sinful thought,
 Wrought in her so, that seeing me, she turn'd ;
 I follow'd her, she what was Honour knew,
 And with obsequious Majestie approv'd
 510 My pleaded reason. To the Nuptial Bowre
 I led her blushing like the Morn : all Heav'n,
 And happie Constellations on that houre
 Shed thir selectest influence ; the Earth
 Gave sign of gratulation, and each Hill ;
 515 Joyous the Birds ; fresh Gales and gentle Aires
 Whisper'd it to the Woods, and from thir wings
 Flung Rose, flung Odours from the spicie Shrub,
 Disporting, till the amorous Bird of Night

Sung

486 voice,] The recurrent wrong font comma. 504 obtrusive,]] The comma is battered in all 1674 copies examined. 505 desirable,] The same font comma as used in line 486.

Book VIII. *Paradise Lost.* 209

- Sung Spousal, and bid haste the Eevning Starr
 520 On his Hill top, to light the bridal Lamp.
 Thus I have told thee all my State, and brought
 My Storie to the sum of earthly bliss
 Which I enjoy, and must confess to find
 In all things else delight indeed, but such
 525 As us'd or not, works in the mind no change,
 Nor vehement desire, these delicacies
 I mean of Taste, Sight, Smell, Herbs, Fruits, and Flours,
 Walks, and the melodie of Birds; but here
 Farr otherwise, transported I behold,
 530 Transported touch; here passion first I felt,
 Commotion strange, in all enjoyments else
 Superiour and unmov'd, here onely weake
 Against the charm of Beauties powerful glance.
 Or Nature faild in mee, and left some part
 535 Not proof enough such Object to sustain,
 Or from my side subducting, took perhaps
 More then enough; at least on her bestow'd
 Too much of Ornament, in outward shew
 Elaborate, of inward less exact.
 540 For well I understand in the prime end
 Of Nature her th' inferiour, in the mind
 And inward Faculties, which most excell,
 In outward also her resembling less
 His Image who made both, and less expressing
 545 The character of that Dominion giv'n
 O're other Creatures; yet when I approach
 Her loveliness, so absolute she seems
 And in her self compleat, so well to know
 Her own, that what she wills to do or say,
 550 Seems wisest, vertuousest, discreetest, best;
 All higher knowledge in her presence falls
 Degraded, Wisdom in discourse with her

Looses

522 *bliss*] The 1 is faint in all copies examined. 527 *and*] & 528 *melodie*] The o is faint in all copies examined. 552 *Degraded,*]] But the third edition, 1678, prints a colon here, probably because the whole 1674 bottom line is smeared by offset in most copies examined.

210 **Paradise Lost.** Book VIII.

- Looses discount'anc't, and like folly shewes ;
 Authority and Reason on her waite,
 555 As one intended first, not after made
 Occasionally ; and to consummate all,
 Greatnes of mind and nobleness thir seat
 Build in her loveliest, and create an awe
 About her, as a guard Angelic plac't.
 560 To whom the Angel with contracted brow.
 Accuse not Nature, she hath don her part ;
 Do thou but thine, and be not diffident
 Of Wisdom, she deserts thee not, if thou
 Dismiss not her, when most thou needst her nigh,
 565 By attributing overmuch to things
 Less excellent, as thou thy self perceav'st.
 For what admir'st thou, what transports thee so,
 An outside ? fair no doubt, and worthy well
 Thy cherishing, thy honouring, and thy love,
 570 Not thy subjection : weigh with her thy self ;
 Then value : Oft times nothing profits more
 Then self esteem, grounded on just and right
 Well manag'd ; of that skill the more thou know'st,
 The more she will acknowledge thee her Head,
 575 And to realities yield all her shows :
 Made so adorn for thy delight the more,
 So awful, that with honour thou maist love
 Thy mate, who sees when thou art seen least wife.
 But if the sense of touch whereby mankind
 580 Is propagated seem such dear delight
 Beyond all other, think the same voutsaf't
 To Cattel and each Beast ; which would not be
 To them made common and divulg'd, if aught
 Therein enjoy'd were worthy to subdue
 585 The Soule of Man, or passion in him move.
 What higher in her societie thou findst

At-

554 Authority] Authoritie 563 she]] Stressed. 570 subjection:] The ct ligature is broken in all copies examined. 572 self esteem,] self-esteem, 575 yield] yeild shows:] shows; 578 feen] The recurrent broken f 583 and] &

Book VIII. *Paradise Lost.* 211

- Attractive, human, rational, love still ;
 In loving thou dost well, in passion not,
 Wherein true Love consists not ; love refines
 590 The thoughts, and heart enlarges, hath his seat
 In Reason, and is judicious, is the scale
 By which to heav'ly Love thou maist ascend,
 Not sunk in carnal pleasure, for which cause
 Among the Beasts no Mate for thee was found.
 595 To whom thus half abash'd *Adam* repli'd.
 Neither her out-side formd so fair, nor aught
 In procreation common to all kindes
 (Though higher of the genial Bed by far,
 And with mysterious reverence I deem)
 600 So much delights me as those graceful acts,
 Those thousand decencies that daily flow
 From all her words and actions mixt with Love
 And sweet compliance, which declare unfeign'd
 Union of Mind, or in us both one Soule ;
 605 Harmonie to behold in wedded pair
 More grateful then harmonious sound to the eare.
 Yet these subje& not ; I to thee disclose
 What inward thence I feel, not therefore foild,
 Who meet with various objects, from the sense
 610 Variously representing ; yet still free
 Approve the best, and follow what I approve.
 To love thou blam'st me not, for love thou saist
 Leads up to Heav'n, is both the way and guide ;
 Bear with me then, if lawful what I ask ;
 615 Love not the heav'ly Spirits, and how thir Love
 Express they, by looks onely, or do they mix
 Irradiance, virtual or immediate touch ?
 To whom the Angel with a smile that glow'd
 Celestial rosie red, Loves proper hue,
 620 Answer'd. Let it suffice thee that thou know'st

P 2

U3

591 *Reafon,*] The top element of the comma is entirely lacking in all 1674 copies examined.598 *the]* The crossbar of the t is entirely lacking in all copies examined. 600 *me]* me,602 *actions]* actions, 613 *Heav'n,*] The comma is faint in all 1674 copies examined.

2:2 **Paradise Lost.** Book VIII.

- Us happy, and without Love no happiness.
 Whatever pure thou in the body enjoy'st
 (And pure thou wert created) we enjoy
 In eminence, and obstacle find none
- 625 Of membrane, joyn't, or limb, exclusive barrs :
 Easier then Air with Air, if Spirits embrace,
 Total they mix, Union of Pure with Pure
 Desiring ; nor restrain'd conveyance need
 As Flesh to mix with Flesh, or Soul with Soul.
- 630 But I can now no more ; the parting Sun
 Beyond the Earths green Cape and verdant Isles
Hesperean sets, my Signal to depart.
 Be strong, live happy, and love, but first of all
 Him whom to love is to obey, and keep
- 635 His great command ; take heed least Passion sway
 Thy Judgement to do aught, which else free Will
 Would not admit ; thine and of all thy Sons
 The weal or woe in thee is plac't ; beware.
 In thy persevering shall rejoice,
- 640 And all the Blest : stand fast ; to stand or fall
 Free in thine own Arbitrement it lies.
 Perfect within, no outward aid require ;
 And all temptation to transgress repel.
 So saying, he arose ; whom *Adam* thus
- 645 Follow'd with benediction. Since to part,
 Go heavenly Guest, Ethereal Messenger,
 Sent from whose sovran goodness I adore.
 Gentle to me and affable hath been
 Thy condescension, and shall be honour'd ever
- 650 With grateful Memorie : thou to mankind
 Be good and friendly still, and oft return.
 So parted they, the Angel up to Heav'n
 From the thick shade, and *Adam* to his Bowre.

The End of the Eighth Book,

Para-

623 we]] Stressed? *The End of the Eighth Book*] The line indicating the end of Book 7 was omitted in 1667. Catchword. Para-] PARA-

213

Paradise Lost.

BOOK IX.

THE ARGUMENT.

Satan having compast the Earth, with meditated guile
 returns as a mist by Night into Paradise, enters into
 the Serpent sleeping. Adam and Eve in the Morning
 go forth to thir labours, which Eve proposes to divide
 in several places, each labouring apart: Adam con-
 sents not, alledging the danger, lest that Enemy, of
 whom they were forewarn'd, should attempt her found
 alone: Eve loath to be thought not circumspect or
 firm enough, urges her going apart, the rather desi-
 rous to make tryal of her strength; Adam at last
 yields: The Serpent finds her alone; his subtle ap-
 proach, first gazing, then speaking, with much flat-
 tery extolling Eve above all other Creatures. Eve
 wondring to hear the Serpent speak, asks how he at-
 tain'd to human speech and such understanding not
 till now; the Serpent answers, that by tasting of a
 certain Tree in the Garden he attain'd both to Speech
 and Reason, till then void of both: Eve requires him
 5
 10
 15

P 3

to

Title. *Paradise Lost.*] PARADISE/ LOST. In 1674 the first a has the nicks in the upper inner part of the vertical stroke. The rules are composite, not solid.

THE ARGUMENT. The Argument of 1674 Book 9 is the same as that of 1667 Book 8, and the collation here is of 1674, 1668, and 1669. 1 Satan] SAtan]] 2 mist] mist]] 5 apart:] apart:]] 6 Enemy,]] enemy, 11 yields:] yields:]] The]] the 15 human]] humane 17 Speech]] Speech

214 Paradise Lost. Book IX.

to bring her to that Tree, and finds it to be the Tree
 20 of Knowledge forbidden: The Serpent now grown
 bolder, with many wiles and arguments induces her
 at length to eat; she pleasd with the taste deliberates
 awhile whether to impart thereof to Adam or not, at
 last brings him of the Fruit, relates what perswaded
 25 her to eat thereof: Adam at first amaz'd, but per-
 ceiving her lost, resolves through vehemence of love
 to perish with her; and extenuating the trespass eats
 also of the Fruit: The Effects thereof in them both;
 they seek to cover thir nakedness; then fall to vari-
 30 ance and accusation of one another.

NO more of talk where God or Angel Guest
 With Man, as with his Friend, familiar us'd
 To sit indulgent, and with him partake
 Rural repast, permitting him the while
 5 Venial discourse unblam'd: I now must change
 Those Notes to Tragic; foul distrust, and breach
 Disloyal on the part of Man, revolt,
 And disobedience: On the part of Heav'n
 Now alienated, distance and distaste,
 10 Anger and just rebuke, and judgement giv'n,
 That brought into this World a world of woe,
 Sinne and her shadow Death, and Miserie
 Deaths Harbinger: Sad task, yet argument
 Not less but more Heroic then the wrauth
 15 Of stern Achilles on his Foe pursu'd
 Thrice Fugitive about Troy Wall; or rage
 Of Turnus for Lavinia disespous'd,
 Or Neptun's ire or Juno's, that so long
 Perplex'd the Greek and Cytherea's Son;
 20 If answerable style I can obtaine
 Of my Celestial Patroness, who deignes

Her

Running Head. Lost.] The recurrent round period.

THE ARGUMENT. The collation of the Argument only is 1674, 1668, and 1669.
 20 *forbidden;] forbidden:]* 24 *last] last]* 25 *thereof:] thereof:]* *first] first]* (ligatures)
 26 *lost,] lost,]* 27 *trespas,]]* In all 1674 copies the comma is very faint or entirely lacking
 as in copy 14 shown above.

THE TEXT. The Text of 1674 Book 9 is 1667 Book 8. 6 Notes] The N is broken in all copies
 examined. 8 ofHeav'n] No space. 10 judge ment] The word is so spaced in most 1674 copies
 examined; but copy 22 printed jud gement The word seems to have been set with a space in it,
 and was never reset, but the spacing changes a little.

Book IX. *Paradise Lost.* 215

- Her nightly visitation unimplor'd,
 And dictates to me slumbring, or inspires
 Easie my unpremeditated Verse :
 25 Since first this Subject for Heroic Song
 Pleas'd me long choosing, and beginning late ;
 Not sedulous by Nature to indite
 Warrs, hitherto the onely Argument
 Heroic deem'd, chief maistrie to dissect
 30 With long and tedious havoc fabl'd Knights
 In Battels feign'd ; the better fortitude
 Of Patience and Heroic Martyrdom
 Unsung; or to describe Races and Games,
 Or tilting Furniture, emblazon'd Shields,
 35 Impreses quaint, Caparisons and Steeds ;
 Bases and tinsel Trappings, gorgious Knights
 At Joust and Torneament ; then marshal'd Feast
 Serv'd up in Hall with Sewers, and Seneshals ;
 The skill of Artifice or Office mean,
 40 Not that which justly gives Heroic name
 To Person or to Poem. Mee of these
 Nor skilid nor studious, higher Argument
 Remaines, sufficient of it self to raise
 That name, unless an age too late, or cold
 45 Climat, or Years damp my intended wing
 Deprest, and much they may, if all be mine,
 Not Hers who brings it nightly to my Ear.
 The Sun was sunk, and after him the Starr
 Of *Hesperus*, whose Office is to bring
 50 Twilight upon the Earth, short Arbiter
 Twixt Day and Night, and now from end to end
 Nights Hemisphere had veild the Horizon round :
 When *Satan* who late fled before the threats
 Of *Gabriel* out of *Eden*, now improv'd
 55 In meditated fraud and malice, bent

P 4

On

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 38 Seneshals;]] The top element of the semicolon is very faint in most copies examined.

216 *Paradise Lost.* Book IX.

- On mans destruction, maugre what might hap
 Of heavier on himself, fearless return'd.
 By Night he fled, and at Midnight return'd
 From compassing the Earth, cautious of day,
 60 Since *Uriel* Regent of the Sun descri'd
 His entrance, and forewarnd the Cherubim
 That kept thir watch ; thence full of anguish driv'n,
 The space of seven continu'd Nights he rode
 With darkness, thrice the Equinoctial Line
 65 He circl'd, four times cross'd the Carr of Night
 From Pole to Pole, traversing each Colure ;
 On the eighth return'd, and on the Coast averse
 From entrance or Cherubic Watch, by stealth
 Found unsuspected way. There was a place,
 70 Now not, though Sin, not Time, first wraught the
 Where *Tigris* at the foot of Paradise (change,
 Into a Gulf shot under ground, till part
 Rose up a Fountain by the Tree of Life ;
 In with the River sunk, and with it rose
 75 Satan involv'd in rising Mist, then sought
 Where to lie hid ; Sea he had searcht and Land
 From *Eden* over *Pontus*, and the Poole
Mæotis, up beyond the River *Ob* ;
 Downward as farr Antarctic ; and in length
 80 West from *Orontes* to the Ocean barr'd
 At *Darien*, thence to the Land where flowes
Ganges and *Indus* : thus the Orb he roam'd
 With narrow search ; and with inspection deep
 Consider'd every Creature, which of all
 85 Most opportune might serve his Wiles, and found
 The Serpent subtlest Beast of all the Field.
 Him after long debate, irresolute
 Of thoughts revolv'd, his final sentence chose
 Fit Vessel, fittest Imp of fraud, in whom

To

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent battered period. 61 entrance,]] The comma is very faint in all 1674 copies examined, but certainly always present. 80 *Orontes*] The *n* is broken in all copies examined. barr'd] The apostrophe is faint in all copies examined.

Book IX. *Paradise Lost.* 217

- 90 To enter, and his dark suggestions hide
 From sharpest sight : for in the wilie Snake,
 Whatever sleights none would suspicious mark,
 As from his wit and native suttlete
 Proceeding, which in other Beasts observ'd
 95 Doubt might beget of Diabolic pow'r
 Active within beyond the sense of brute.
 Thus he resolv'd, but first from inward griefe
 His bursting passion into plaints thus pour'd:
 O Earth, how like to Heav'n, if not preferr'd
 100 More justly, Seat worthier of Gods, as built
 With seconde thoughts, reforming what was old !
 For what God after better worse would build ?
 Terrestrial Heav'n, danc't round by other Heav'ns
 That shine, yet bear thir bright officious Lamps,
 105 Light above Light, for thee alone, as seems,
 In thee concentring all thir precious beams
 Of sacred influence: As God in Heav'n
 Is Center, yet extends to all, so thou
 Centring receav'st from all those Orbs; in thee,
 110 Not in themselves, all thir known vertue appears
 Productive in Herb, Plant, and nobler birth
 Of Creatures animate with gradual life
 Of Growth, Sense, Reason, all summ'd up in Man.
 With what delight could I have walkt thee round,
 115 If I could joy in aught, sweet interchange
 Of Hill, and Vallie, Rivers, Woods and Plaines,
 Now Land, now Sea, and Shores with Forrest crownd,
 Rocks, Dens, and Caves ; but I in none of these
 Find place or refuge ; and the more I see
 120 Pleasures about me, so much more I feel
 Torment within me, as from the hateful siege
 Of contraries ; all good to me becomes
 Bane, and in Heav'n much worse would be my state.

But

90 suggestions] The ligature *ft* is faint in all copies examined. 92 sleights] sleights See my note on this word in 1667, volume 2:497. The use of a worn ligature 'fl' in 1667 was no doubt due to foul case, and has been completely passed over by textual editors. 97 first] The ligature *ft* is smashed in all copies examined. 114 thee]] Fenton, unobservant of context, thought this word should be 'the' but the speech is addressed to the earth, and Adam again and again addresses the earth in the second person singular. For many tamperings with this passage by subsequent editors, see Wright's notes. round,] round The comma seems needed.
 116 Hill,] Hill 117 and] & 122 me]] Stressed.

218 *Paradise Lost.* Book IX.

But neither here seek I, no nor in Heav'n
 To dwell, unless by maistring Heav'ns Supreame ;
 Nor hope to be my self less miserable
 By what I seek, but others to make such
 As I, though thereby worse to me redound :
 For onely in destroying I find ease
 To my relentless thoughts ; and him destroyd,
 Or won to what may work his utter loss ,
 For whom all this was made, all this will soon
 Follow, as to him linkt in weal or woe,
 In wo then ; that destruction wide may range :
 To mee shall be the glorie sole among
 The infernal Powers, in one day to have marr'd
 What he *Almighty* styl'd, six Nights and Days
 Continu'd making, and who knows how long
 Before had bin contriving, though perhaps
 Not longer then since I in one Night freed
 From servitude inglorious welnigh half
 Th' Angelic Name, and thinner left the throng
 Of his adorers : hee to be aveng'd,
 And to repaire his numbers thus impair'd,
 Whether such vertue spent of old now faild
 More Angels to Create, if they at least
 Are his Created, or to spite us more,
 Determin'd to advance into our room
 A Creature form'd of Earth, and him endow,
 Exalted from so base original,
 With Heav'ny spoils, our spoils : What he decreed
 He effected ; Man he made, and for him built
 Magnificent this World, and Earth his seat,
 Him Lord pronounc'd, and, O indignitie !
 Subjected to his service Angel wings,
 And flaming Ministers to watch and tend
 Thir earthy Charge : Of these the vigilance

I

126 self]] No comma in either first or second edition, although 1674 has space for it; but in no copy examined was the comma present. It is needed, as may be seen in the third edition, which just missed setting the two words as one 'selfless' which would be nonsense. 129 onely]] Stressed on first syllable. *find*] finde 147 *Created,or*] Created or The comma is needed. 157 *earthy*] earthie *Charge:*] Italic colon.

Book IX. *Paradise Lost.* 219

- I dread, and to elude, thus wrapt in mist
 Of midnight vapor glide obscure, and prie
 160 In every Bush and Brake, where hap may finde
 The Serpent sleeping, in whose mazie foul'd
 To hide me, and the dark intent I bring.
 O foul descent ! that I who erst contended
 With Gods to sit the highest, am now constrain'd
 165 Into a Beast, and mixt with bestial slime,
 This essence to incarnate and imbrute,
 That to the hight of Deitie aspir'd ;
 But what will not Ambition and Revenge
 Descend to ? who aspires must down as low
 170 As high he soard, obnoxious first or last
 To basest things. Revenge, at first though sweet,
 Bitter ere long back on it self recoiles ;
 Let it ; I reck not, so it light well aim'd,
 Since higher I fall short, on him who next
 175 Provokes my envie, this new Favorite
 Of Heav'n, this Man of Clay, Son of despite,
 Whom us the more to spite his Maker rais'd
 From dust : spite then with spite is best repaid.
 So saying, through each Thicket Danck or Drie,
 180 Like a black mist low creeping, he held on
 His midnight search, where soonest he might finde
 The Serpent : him fast sleeping soon he found
 In Labyrinth of many a round self-rowld,
 His head the midſt, well stor'd with subtle wiles:
 185 Not yet in horrid Shade or dismal Den,
 Nor nocent yet, but on the grassie Herbe
 Fearless unfeard he slept : in at his Mouth
 The Devil enterd, and his brutal ſense,
 In heart or head, poſſeſſing ſoon inspir'd
 190 With act intelligential ; but his ſleep
 Disturbd not, waiting close th' approach of Morn.

Now

¹⁸³ round] The d is very faint in some copies examined. self-rowld,] The hyphen is very faint in a few copies and clear in others. ¹⁸⁶ Nor] Not The change may have been deliberate, or may have been due to foul case.

220 *Paradise Lost.* Book IX.

Now when as sacred Light began to dawne
 In *Eden* on the humid Flours, that breathd
 Thir morning incense, when all things that breath,
 195 From th' Earths great Altar send up silent praise
 To the Creator, and his nostrils fill
 With grateful Smell, forth came the human pair
 And joind thir vocal Worship to the Quire
 Of Creatures wanting voice, that done, partake
 200 The season, prime for sweetest Sents and Aires :
 Then commune how that day they best may ply
 Thir growing work : for much thir work outgrew
 The hands dispatch of two Gardning so wide.
 And *Eve* first to her Husband thus began.

205 *Adam*, well may we labour still to dress
 This Garden, still to tend Plant, Herb and Flour,
 Our pleasant task enjoyn'd, but till more hands
 Aid us, the work under our labour grows,
 Luxurious by restraint ; what we by day
 210 Lop overgrown, or prune, or prop, or bind,
 One night or two with wanton growth derides
 Tending to wilde. Thou therefore now advise
 Or bear what to my minde first thoughts present,
 Let us divide our labours, thou where choice
 215 Leads thee, or where most needs, whether to wind
 The Woodbine round this Arbour, or direct
 The clasping Ivie where to climb, while I
 In yonder Spring of Roses intermixt
 With Myrtle, find what to redress till Noon :

220 For while so near each other thus all day
 Our taske we choose, what wonder if so near
 Looks intervene and smiles, or object new
 Casual discourse draw on, which intermits
 Our dayes work brought to little, though begun
 225 Early, and th' hour of Supper comes uncarn'd.

To

192 when as] whenas 193 Flours,] The top of the F is broken off in all copies examined.
 194 incense,] Incense, breath,]] The word being a verb should have a final 'e' as directed in the *Errata* for Book 5:193. 197 grateful] gratefull human] The a either is battered or wrong font. 198 joind] joynd 206 Flour,] Flour. The comma seems an improvement.
 209 restraint;] The upper element of the semicolon is very faint. 213 bear] hear I think this is a change due to foul case rather than being a deliberate one. minde] mind 221 taske] task Note the absence of the 'sk' ligature in both editions.

Book IX. *Paradise Lost.* 221

- To whom mild answer *Adam* thus return'd.
 Sole *Eve*, Associate sole, to me beyond
 Compare above all living Creatures deare,
 Well hast thou motion'd, well thy thoughts employd
 230 How we might best fulfill the work which here
 God hath assign'd us, nor of me shalt pafs
 Unprais'd: for nothing lovelier can be found
 In Woman, then to studie household good,
 And good workes in her Husband to promote,
 235 Yet not so strictly hath our Lord impos'd
 Labour, as to debarr us when we need
 Refreshment, whether food, or talk between,
 Food of the mind, or this sweet intercourse
 Of looks and smiles, for smiles from Reason flow,
 240 To brute deni'd, and are of Love the food,
 Love not the lowest end of human life.
 For not to irksom toile, but to delight
 He made us, and delight to Reason joyn'd.
 These paths & Bowers doubt not but our joynt hands
 245 Will keep from Wildernes with ease, as wide
 As we need walk, till younger hands ere long
 Assist us: But if much converse perhaps
 Thee satiate, to short absence I could yield.
 For solitude sometimes is best societie,
 250 And short retirement urges sweet retурne.
 But other doubt possesses me, least harm
 Befall thee sever'd from me; for thou knowst
 What hath bin warn'd us, what malicious Foe
 Envying our happiness, and of his own
 255 Despairing, seeks to work us woe and shame
 By fly assault; and somwhere nigh at hand
 Watches, no doubt, with greedy hope to find
 His wish and best advantage, us asunder,
 Hopeles to circumvent us joynd, where each

To

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 229 well] wel 230 which] The c is faint in most copies examined and indiscernible in a few. 231 me]] Stressed. 232 Unprais'd:] Italic colon. 233 Woman,] woman, 236 Labour,]] The comma almost fails to print in most 1674 copies examined. 244 &] and 248 yield.] yeild. 250 urges] The s is very faint in most copies examined.

222 **Paradise Lost.** Book IX.

- 260 To other speedie aide might lend at need ;
 Whether his first design be to withdraw
 Our fealtie from God, or to disturb
 Conjugal Love, then which perhaps no bliss
 Enjoy'd by us excites his envie more ;
- 265 Or this, or worse, leave not the faithful side
 That gave thee being, still shades thee and protects.
 The Wife, where danger or dishonour lurks,
 Safest and seemliest by her Husband staines,
 Who guards her, or with her the worst endures.
- 270 To whom the Virgin Majestie of *Eve*,
 As one who loves, and some unkindnes meets,
 With sweet austere composure thus reply'd,
 Ofspring of Heav'n and Earth, and all Earths Lord,
 That such an Enemie we have, who seeks
- 275 Our ruin, both by thee informd I learne,
 And from the parting Angel over-heard
 As in a shadie nook I stood behind,
 Just then returnd at shut of Evening Flours.
 But that thou shouldest my firmness therfore doubt
- 280 To God or thee, because we have a foe
 May tempt it, I expected not to hear.
 His violence thou fearst not, being such,
 As wee, not capable of death or paine,
 Can either not receave, or can repell.
- 285 His fraud is then thy fear, which plain inferrs
 Thy equal fear that my firm Faith and Love
 Can by his fraud be shak'n or seduc't ;
 Thoughts, which how found they harbour in thy brest
Adam, misthought of her to thee so dear ?
- 290 To whom with healing words *Adam* replyd.
 Daughter of God and Man, immortal *Eve*,
 For such thou art, from sin and blame entire :
 Not dissident of thee do I dissuade

Thy

261 Whether] The W is below the line of type. 266 still] stil 272 reply'd,] reply'd. Was the change from period to comma here intended? 273 Earth, and] No space in any copy examined. 288 brest] (brest, 1667 used the parenthesis because the word was set above the line to which it belongs. 290 replyd.] reply'd.

Book IX. *Paradise Lost.* 223

- Thy absence from my sight, but to avoid
 295 Th' attempt it self, intended by our Foe.
 For hee who tempts, though in vain, at least asperses
 The tempted with dishonour foul, suppos'd
 Not incorruptible of Faith, not prooff
 Against temptation: thou thy self with scorne
 300 And anger wouldst resent the offer'd wrong,
 Though ineffectual found: misdeem not then,
 If such affront I labour to avert
 From thee alone, which on us both at once
 The Enemie, though bold, will hardly dare,
 305 Or daring, first on mee th' assault shall light.
 Nor thou his malice and false guile contemn;
 Suttle he needs must be, who could seduce
 Angels, nor think superfluous others aid.
 I from the influence of thy looks receave
 310 Access in every Virtue, in thy sight
 More wise, more watchful, stronger, if need were
 Of outward strength; while shame, thou looking on,
 Shame to be overcome or over-reacht
 Would utmost vigor raise, and rais'd unite.
 315 Why shouldst not thou like sense within thee feel
 When I am present, and thy trial choose
 With me, best witnes of thy Virtue tri'd.
 So spake domestick *Adam* in his care
 And Matrimonial Love; but *Eve*, who thought
 320 Less attributed to her Faith sincere,
 Thus her reply with accent sweet renewd.
 If this be our condition, thus to dwell
 In narrow circuit strait'd by a Foe,
 Suttle or violent, we not endu'd
 325 Single with like defence, wherever met,
 How are we happie, still in fear of harm?
 But harm precedes not sin: onely our Foe

Tempting

Running Head. *Paradise*] The P is broken at the top as on pages 239, 255, 269, and 303.
 308 Angels,]] The comma is very faint in most 1674 copies examined or, as in copy 22, entirely lacking, but the spacing remains the same in all copies. 319 Love;] Love, See my note, volume 2:504. The first edition certainly printed a comma here; but a semicolon serves perhaps even better. 324 we]] Stressed? 327 onely]] The first syllable is stressed.

224 *Paradise Lost.* Book IX.

- Tempting affronts us with his foul esteem
Of our integritie : his foul esteeme
330 Sticks no dishonor on our Front, but turns
Foul on himself ; then wherefore shund or feard
By us ? who rather double honour gaine
From his surmise prov'd false, find peace within,
Favour from Heav'n, our witness from th' event.
335 And what is Faith, Love, Vertue unassaid
Alone, without exterior help sustaint ?
Let us not then suspect our happie State
Left so imperfet by the Maker wise,
As not secure to single or combin'd,
340 Fraile is our happiness, if this be so,
And *Eden* were no *Eden* thus expos'd.
To whom thus *Adam* fervently repli'd.
O Woman, best are all things as the will
Of God ordain'd them, his creating hand
345 Nothing imperfect or deficient left
Of all that he Created, much less Man,
Or aught that might his happie State secure,
Secure from outward force ; within himself
The danger lies, yet lies within his power :
350 Against his will he can receave no harme.
But God left free the Will, for what obeys
Reason, is free, and Reason he made right,
But bid her well beware, and still erect,
Least by some faire appeering good surpris'd
355 She dictate false, and missinforme the Will
To do what God expressly hath forbid,
Not then mistrust, but tender love enjoynes,
That I should mind thee oft, and mind thou me.
Firm we subsift, yet possible to swerve,
360 Since Reason not impossiblly may meet
Some specious object by the Foe subornd,

And

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 331 wherefore] wherfore 333 finde
335 Faith, Love,] No space in any copy examined. 339 combin'd.]] The punctuation mark
in 1674 has been variously taken for a period and for a comma. It might be either, or foul case
with period intended. The third edition compromised and printed a colon. 344 ordain'd] ordaind
347 aught] ought 348 outward] The t is very faint in all copies examined.
355 missinforme] missinforme 356 forbid,] forbid. Probably the period was what was wanted
here. 358 me.]] Stressed. 359 subsift,]] The comma is faint in all 1674 copies examined.
360 Since] The S is below type alignment in most copies examined. 361 Some] The S is below
type alignment in most copies examined.

Book IX. *Paradise Lost.* 225

- And fall into deception unaware,
 Not keeping strictest watch, as she was warnd.
 Seek not temptation then, which to avoide
 365 Were better, and most likelie if from mee
 Thou sever not: Trial will come unsought.
 Wouldst thou approve thy constancie, approve
 First thy obedience; th' other who can know,
 Not seeing thee attempted, who attest?
 370 But if thou think, trial unsought may finde
 Us both securer then thus warnd thou seemit,
 Go; for thy stay, not free, absents thee more;
 Go in thy native innocence, relie
 On what thou hast of vertue, summon all,
 375 For God towards thee hath done his part, do thine.
 So spake the Patriarch of Mankinde, but *Eve*
 Persisted, yet submiss, though last, repli'd.
 With thy permission then, and thus forewarnd
 Chieflly by what thy own last reasoning words
 380 Touchd onely, that our trial, when least sought,
 May finde us both perhaps farr less prepar'd,
 The willinger I goe, nor much expect
 A Foe so proud will first the weaker seek,
 So bent, the more shall shame him his repulse.
 385 Thus saying, from her Husbands hand her hand
 Soft she withdrew, and like a Wood-Nymph light
Oread or *Dryad*, or of *Delia's* Traine,
 Betook her to the Groves, but *Delia's* self
 In gate surpass'd and Goddess-like deport,
 390 Though not as shee with Bow and Quiver armd,
 But with such Gardning Tools as Art yet rude,
 Guiltless of fire had formd, or Angels brought.
 To *Pales*, or *Pomona* thus adornd,
 Likeliest she seemd, *Pomona* when she fled
 395 *Vertumnus*, or to *Ceres* in her Prime,

Q

Yet

363 *she*]] Stressed? 364 *then*,]] In 1667 (Book 8:364), the punctuation was certainly set as a comma. In my volume 2:505, the mark printed as a semicolon because in 1667 copy 36, portrayed therein, there is a smear above the comma, as also in 1667 copy 10. All other first edition copies examined show a clear comma here, and in 1667 copy 36, the comma element is the same as in other 1667 copies. Beyond a doubt, both 1667 and 1674 texts should be accepted as carrying a comma. There should have been a note on this in my second volume, and the point will be treated later as an erratum. 367 *approve*] The second p is very faint in most copies examined.

378 *With*] The W is broken in all copies examined. 380 *onely*,]] The first syllable is stressed. 387 *Delia's*] *Delia's* 388 *Delia's*] *Delia's* 391 *Gardning*] The r is very faint in most copies examined. 393 *Pomona*] *Pomona*, 394 *Likeliest*] Likest

226 *Paradise Lost.* Book IX.

Yet Virgin of *Proserpina* from *Jove*.
 Her long with ardent look his Eye purs'd
 Delighted, but desiring more her stay.
 Oft he to her his charge of quick returne
 400 Repeated, shee to him as oft engag'd
 To be returnd by Noon amid the Bowre,
 And all things in best order to invite
 Noontide repast, or Afternoons repose.
 O much deceav'd, much failing, hapless *Eve*,
 405 Of thy presum'd return! event perverse!
 Thou never from that houre in Paradise
 Foundst either sweet repast, or sound repose;
 Such ambush hid among sweet Flours and Shades
 Waited with hellish rancour imminent
 410 To intercept thy way, or send thee back
 Despoild of Innocence, of Faith, of Bliss.
 For now, and since first break of dawne the Fiend,
 Meer Serpent in appearance, forth was come,
 And on his Quest, where likeliest he might finde
 415 The onely two of Mankinde, but in them
 The whole included Race, his purposd prey.
 In Bowre and Field he sought, where any tuft
 Of Grove or Garden-Plot more pleasant lay,
 Thir tendance or Plantation for delight,
 420 By Fountain or by shadie Rivulet
 He sought them both, but wish'd his hap might find
Eve separate, he wish'd, but not with hope
 Of what so seldom chanc'd, when to his wish,
 Beyond his hope, *Eve* separate he spies,
 425 Veild in a Cloud of Fragrance, where she stood,
 Half spi'd, so thick the Roses bushing round
 About her glowd, oft stooping to support
 Each Flour of slender stalk, whose head though gay
 Carnation, Purple, Azure, or spect with Gold,

Hung

399 *he]]* Stressed. 409 *rancour]* rancor 415 *onely]]* The first syllable is stressed.
 428 *Each]* The *h* is very faint in most copies examined.

Book IX. *Paradise Lost.* 227

- 430 Hung drooping unsustaind, them she upstaies
 Gently with Mirtle band, mindless the while,
 Her self, though fairest unsupported Flour,
 From her best prop so farr, and storm so nigh.
 Neerer he drew, and many a walk travers'd
 435 Of stateliest Covert, Cedar, Pine, or Palme,
 Then voluble and bold, now hid, now seen
 Among thick-wov'n Arborets and Flours
 Imborderd on each Bank, the hand of *Eve* :
 Spot more delicious then those Gardens feign'd
 440 Or of reviv'd *Adonis*, or renound
Alcinous, host of old *Laertes* Son,
 Or that, not Mystic, where the Sapient King
 Held dalliance with his faire *Egyptian* Spouse.
 Much hee the Place admir'd, the Person more.
 445 As one who long in populous City pent,
 Where Houses thick and Sewers annoy the Aire,
 Forth issuing on a Summers Morn to breathe
 Among the pleasant Villages and Farmes
 Adjoyned, from each thing met conceaves delight,
 450 The smell of Grain, or tedded Grass, or Kine,
 Or Dairie, each rural sight, each rural sound ;
 If chance with Nymphlike step fair Virgin pass,
 What pleasing seemd, for her now pleases more,
 She most, and in her look summs all Delight.
 455 Such Pleasure took the Serpent to behold
 This Flourie Plat, the sweet recess of *Eve*
 Thus earlie, thus alone ; her Heav'ly forme
 Angelic, but more soft, and Feminine,
 Her graceful Innocence, her every Aire
 460 Of gesture or least action overawd
 His Malice, and with rapine sweet bereav'd
 His fierceness of the fierce intent it brought :
 That space the Evil one abstracted stood

Q. 2

From

439 more] The o is broken in all copies examined. 454 She]] Almost certainly stressed.

228 *Paradise Lost.* Book IX.

- From his own evil, and for the time remaind
 465 Stupidly good, of enmitie disarm'd,
 Of guile, of hate, of envie, of revenge ;
 But the hot Hell that alwayes in him burnes,
 Though in mid Heav'n, soon ended his delight,
 And tortures him now more, the more he sees
 470 Of pleasure not for him ordain'd : then soon
 Fierce hate he recollects, and all his thoughts
 Of mischief, gratulating, thus excites.
 Thoughts, whither have ye led me, with what sweet
 Compulsion thus transported to forget
 475 What hither brought us, hate, not love, nor hope
 Of Paradise for Hell, hope here to taste
 Of pleasure, but all pleasure to destroy,
 Save what is in destroying, other joy
 To me is lost. Then let me not let pass
 480 Occasion which now smiles, behold alone
 The Woman, opportune to all attempts,
 Her Husband, for I view far round, not nigh,
 Whose higher intellectual more I shun,
 And strength, of courage hautie, and of limb
 485 Heroic built, though of terrestrial mould,
 Foe not informidable, exempt from wound,
 I not ; so much hath Hell debas'd, and paine
 Infeebld me, to what I was in Heav'n.
 Shee fair, divinely fair, fit Love for Gods,
 490 Not terrible, though terrour be in Love
 And beautie, not approacht by stronger hate,
 Hate stronger, under shew of Love well feign'd,
 The way which to her ruin now I tend.
 So spake the Enemie of Mankind, enclos'd
 495 In Serpent, Inmate bad, and toward *Eve*
 Address'd his way, not with indented wave,
 Prone on the ground, as since, but on his reare,

Circular

467 Hell] The H is battered in all copies examined. 479 First me]] Stressed.

Book IX. *Paradise Lost.* 219

- Circular base of rising foulds, that tour'd
 Fould above fould a surging Maze, his Head
 Crested aloft, and Carbuncle his Eyes ;
 With burnisht Neck of verdant Gold, erect
 Amidst his circling Spires, that on the grass
 Floted redundant : pleasing was his shape,
 And lovely, never since of Serpent kind
 505 Lovelier, not those that in *Ilyria* chang'd
Hermione and *Cadmus*, or the God
In Epidaurus ; nor to which transformd
Ammonian Jove, or *Capitoline* was seen,
 Hee with *Olympias*, this with her who bore
 510 *Scipio* the highth of *Rome*. With tract oblique
 At first, as one who sought access, but feard
 To interrupt, side-long he works his way.
 As when a Ship by skilful Steersman wrought
 Nigh Rivers mouth or Foreland, where the Wind
 515 Veres oft, as oft so steers, and shifts her Saile ;
 So varied hee, and of his tortuous Traine
 Curld many a wanton wreath in sight of *Eve*,
 To lure her Eye ; shee busied heard the sound
 Of rustling Leaves, but minded not, as us'd
 520 To such disport before her through the Field,
 From every Beast, more duteous at her call,
 Then at *Circean* call the Herd disguis'd.
 Hee boulder now, uncall'd before her stood ;
 But as in gaze admiring : Oft he bowd
 525 His turret Crest, and sleek enamel'd Neck,
 Fawning, and lick'd the ground whereon she trod.
 His gentle dumb expression turnd at length
 The Eye of *Eve* to mark his play ; he glad
 Of her attention gaind, with Serpent Tongue
 530 Organic, or impulse of vocal Air,
 His fraudulent temptation thus began.

Q 3

Wonder

510 *Rome.*] The e is battered in all copies examined. 528 *he]]* Stressed.

230 **Paradise Lost.** Book IX.

Wonder not, sovran Mistress, if perhaps
 Thou canst, who art sole Wonder, much less arm
 Thy looks, the Heav'n of mildness, with disdain,
 Displeas'd that I approach thee thus, and gaze
 535 Infatiate, I thus single, nor have feard
 Thy awful brow, more awful thus retir'd.
 Fairest resemblance of thy Maker faire,
 Thee all things living gaze on, all things thine
 540 By gift, and thy Celestial Beautie adore
 With ravishment beheld, there best beheld
 Where universally admir'd ; but here
 In this enclosure wild, these Beasts among,
 Beholders rude, and shallow to discerne
 545 Half what in thee is fair, one man except,
 Who sees thee ? (and what is one ?) who shouldst be
 A Goddess among Gods, ador'd and serv'd (seen
 By Angels numberless, thy daily Train.
 So gloz'd the Tempter, and his Proem tun'd ;
 550 Into the Heart of *Eve* his words made way,
 Though at the voice much marveling ; at length
 Not unamaz'd she thus in answer spake.
 What may this mean ? Language of Man pronounc't
 By Tongue of Brute, and human sense exprest ?
 555 The first at left of these I thought deni d
 To Beasts, whom God on thir Creation-Day
 Created mute to all articulat sound ;
 The latter I demurre, for in thir looks
 Much reason, and in thir actions oft appeers.
 560 Thee, Serpent, subtlest beast of all the field
 I knew, but not with human voice endu'd ;
 Redouble then this miracle, and say,
 How cam'st thou speakable of mute, and how
 To me so friendly grown above the rest
 565 Of brutal kind, that daily are in sight ?

Say,

Running Head. *Paradise*] The ink smear on the bottom of the *r* is present in all copies examined.
Lost.] The recurrent round period. 552 *unamaz'd*] The *m* is faint in all copies examined.
 555 *deni d*] The space is present in every 1674 copy examined, but the apostrophe is lacking.
 564 *me*] Stressed.

Book IX. *Paradise Lost.* 231

Say, for such wonder claims attention due.

To whom the guileful Tempter thus reply'd.

Empress of this fair World, resplendent *Eve*,

Easie to mee it is to tell thee all (*obeyd* :

570 What thou commandst, and right thou shouldst be

I was at first as other Beasts that graze

The trodden Herb, of abject thoughts and low,

As was my food, nor aught but food discern'd

Or Sex, and apprehended nothing high :

575 Till on a day roaving the field, I chanc'd

A goodly Tree farr distant to behold

Loaden with fruit of fairest colours mixt,

Ruddie and Gold : I nearer drew to gaze;

When from the boughes a favorie odour blow'n,

580 Grateful to appetite, more pleas'd my sense

Then smell of sweetest Fenel or the Teats

Of Ewe or Goat dropping with Milk at Eevn,

Unsuckt of Lamb or Kid, that tend thir play.

To satisfie the sharp desire I had

585 Of tasting those fair Apples, I resolv'd

Not to deferr ; hunger and thirst at once,

Powerful persuaders, quick'nd at the scent

Of that alluring fruit, urg'd me so keene.

About the mossie Trunk I wound me soon,

590 For high from ground the branches would require

Thy utmost reach or *Adams* : Round the Tree

All other Beasts that saw, with like desire

Longing and envying stood, but could not reach.

Amid the Tree now got, where plenty hung

595 Tempting so nigh, to pluck and eat my fill

I spar'd not, for such pleasure till that hour

At Feed or Fountain never had I found.

Sated at length, ere long I might perceave

Strange alteration in me, to degree

Q. 4 Of

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 581 *Fenel*] Fenel, But note the space for the comma set in 1674. If set, it failed to print in any copy examined. 584 *satisfie*] The t is faint in most copies examined. 589 *mossie*] Mossie 594 *plenty*] plentie

232 *Paradise Lost.* Book IX.

- 600 Of Reason in my inward Powers, and Speech
Wanted not long, though to this shape retain'd.
Thenceforth to Speculations high or deep
I turnd my thoughts, and with capacious mind
Considerd all things visible in Heav'n,
605 Or Earth, or Middle, all things fair and good ;
But all that fair and good in thy Divine
Semblance, and in thy Beauties heav'nly Ray
United I beheld ; no Fair to thine
Equivalent or second, which compel'd
610 Mee thus, though importune perhaps, to come
And gaze, and worship thee of right declar'd
Sovran of Creatures, universal Dame.
So talk'd the spirited fly Snake ; and *Eve*
Yet more amaz'd unwarie thus reply'd.
615 Serpent, thy overpraising leaves in doubt
The vertue of that Fruit, in thee first prov'd :
But say, where grows the Tree, from hence how far ?
For many are the Trees of God that grow
In Paradise, and various, yet unknown
620 To us, in such abundance lies our choice,
As leaves a greater store of Fruit untoucht,
Still hanging incorruptible, till men
Grow up to thir provision, and more hands
Help to disburden Nature of her Bearth.
625 To whom the wilie Adder, blithe and glad.
Empress, the way is readie, and not long,
Beyond a row of Myrtles, on a Flat,
Fast by a Fountain, one small Thicket past
Of blowing Myrrh and Balsme ; if thou accept
630 My conduct, I can bring thee thither soon.
Lead then, said *Eve*. Hee leading swiftly rowld
In tangles, and made intricate seem strait,
To mischief swift. Hope elevates, and joy

Bright'ns

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent battered period. 601 *retain'd.*] retain'd. 616 *prov'd.*] Italic colon. 620 *abundance*] abundance Did Milton request this change? 624 *disburden*] disburden (ligature) 632 *made*] make The change seems to have been deliberate, as the preterit is needed.

Book IX. *Paradise Lost.* 233

- Bright'ns his Crest, as when a wandring Fire,
 635 Compact of un&tuous vapor, which the Night
 Condenses, and the cold invirons round,
 Kindl'd through agitation to a Flame,
 Which oft, they say, some evil Spirit attends
 Hovering and blazing with delusive Light,
 640 Misleads th' amaz'd Night-wanderer from his way
 To Boggs and Mires, and oft through Pond or Poole,
 There swallow'd up and lost, from succour farr.
 So glister'd the dire Snake, and into fraud
 Led *Eve* our credulous Mother, to the Tree
 645 Of prohibition, root of all our woe ;
 Which when she saw, thus to her guide she spake.
 Serpent, we might have spar'd our coming hither,
 Fruitleſſ to mee, though Fruit be here to excels,
 The credit of whose vertue rest with thee,
 650 Wondrouſ indeed, if cause of ſuch effects.
 But of this Treſ we may not taste nor touch ;
 God ſo commanded, and left that Command
 Sole Daughter of his voice ; the reſt, we live
 Law to our ſelves, our Reason is our Law.
 655 To whom the Tempter guilefully repli'd.
 Indeed ? hath God then ſaid that of the Fruit
 Of all theſe Garden Trees ye ſhall not eate,
 Yet Lords declar'd of all in Earth or Aire ?
 To whom thus *Eve* yet ſinleſſ. Of the Fruit
 660 Of each Tree in the Garden we may eate,
 But of the Fruit of this fair Tree amidſt
 The Garden, God hath ſaid, Ye ſhall not eate
 Thereof, nor ſhall ye touch it, leaſt ye die. (bold
 She ſcarſe had ſaid, though brief, when now more
 665 The Tempter, but with ſhew of Zeale and Love
 To Man, and indignation at his wrong,
 New part puts on, and as to paſſion mov'd,

Fluctuat\$

Page Number. 233] The first 3 is broken in all copies examined. 634 Fire,] Fire
 638 attends] attends, 641 Second and] & 647 Serpent,we] So spaced in all copies examined.
 648 Fruitleſſ] The t is faint in all copies examined. mee,] me, Stressed. 651 Tree] The
 second e is broken in all copies examined. 660 we]] Stressed. 665 Tempter,] The comma
 is very faint in all copies examined.

234 *Paradise Lost.* Book IX.

- Fluctuats disturb'd, yet comely and in act
 Rais'd, as of som great matter to begin.
 670 As when of old som Orator renound
 In *Athens* or free *Rome*, where Eloquence
 Flourishd, since mute, to som great cause addrest,
 Stood in himself collected, while each part,
 Motion, each act won audience ere the tongue,
 675 Somtimes in highth began, as no delay
 Of Preface brooking through his Zeal of Right.
 So standing, moving, or to highth upgrown
 The Tempter all impassiond thus began.
 O Sacred, Wise, and Wisdom-giving Plant,
 680 Mother of Science, Now I feel thy Power
 Within me cleere, not onely to discerne
 Things in thir Causes, but to trace the wayes
 Of highest Agents, deemd however wise.
 Queen of this Universe, doe not believe
 685 Those rigid threats of Death ; ye shall not Die :
 How should ye? by the Fruit? it gives you Life
 To Knowledge? By the Threatner, look on mee,
 Mee who have touch'd and tasted, yet both live,
 And life more perfet have attaint then Fate
 690 Meant mee, by ventring higher then my Lot.
 Shall that be shut to Man, which to the Beast
 Is open? or will God incense his ire
 For such a petty Trespass, and not praise
 Rather your dauntless vertue, whom the pain
 695 Of Death denounc't, whatever thing Death be,
 Deterrd not from archieving what might leade
 To happier life, knowledge of Good and Evil ;
 Of good, how just? of evil, if what is evil
 Be real, why not known, since easier shunnd?
 700 God therefore cannot hurt ye, and be just ;
 Not just, not God ; nor feard then, nor obeyd :

Your

668 comely] comely, 685 ye]] Stressed. 687 To Knowledge? By the Threatner,]] The punctuation almost certainly should be 'To Knowledge; (or period) By the Threatner?' The third edition, 1678, put a question mark after 'Threatner' but the Fenton edition of 1725 was apparently the first to change the question mark after 'Knowledge' to a colon. Newton, 1749, made it a semicolon and used a question mark after 'Threatner' 690 mee,]] I think this word is unstressed. 701 obeyd:] obeid:

Book IX. *Paradise Lost.* 235

Your feare it self of Death removes the feare.
 Why then was this forbid? Why but to awe,
 Why but to keep ye low and ignorant,
 705 His worshippers; he knows that in the day
 Ye Eat thereof, your Eyes that seem so cleere,
 Yet are but dim, shall perfectly be then.
 Op'nd and cleerd, and ye shall be as Gods,
 Knowing both Good and Evil as they know.
 710 That ye should be as Gods, since I as Man,
 Internal Man, is but proportion meet,
 I of brute human, yee of human Gods.
 So ye shall die perhaps, by putting off
 Human, to put on Gods, death to be wisht,
 715 Though threat'nd, which no worse then this can bring.
 And what are Gods that Man may not become
 As they, participating God-like food?
 The Gods are first, and that advantage use
 On our belief, that all from them proceeds;
 720 I question it, for this fair Earth I see,
 Warm'd by the Sun, producing every kind,
 Them nothing: If they all things, who enclos'd
 Knowledge of Good and Evil in this Tree,
 That whoso eats thereof, forthwith attains
 725 Wisdom without their leave? and wherein lies
 Th' offence, that Man should thus attain to know?
 What can your knowledge hurt him, or this Tree
 Impart against his will if all be his?
 Or is it envie, and can envie dwell
 730 In heav'nly brests? these, these and many more
 Causes import your need of this fair Fruit.
 Goddess humane, reach then, and freely taste.
 He ended, and his words replete with guile
 Into her heart too easie entrance won:
 735 Fixt on the Fruit she gaz'd, which to behold

Might

710 ye]] Almost certainly stressed. 713 ye]] Stressed? 725 their]] Stressed or unstressed?

236 **Paradise Lost.** Book IX.

- Might tempt alone, and in her ears the sound
 Yet rung of his perswasive words, impregn'd
 With Reason, to her seeming, and with Truth;
 Mean while the hour of Noon drew on, and wak'd
 740 An eager appetite, rais'd by the smell
 So favorie of that Fruit, which with desire,
 Inclinalbe now grown to touch or taste,
 Sollicitied her longing eye; yet first
 Pausing a while, thus to her self she mus'd.
 Great are thy Vertues, doubtless, best of Fruits.
 Though kept from Man, and worthy to be admir'd,
 Whose taste, too long forborn, at first assay
 Gave elocution to the mute, and taught
 The Tongue not made for Speech to speak thy praise:
 750 Thy praise hee also who forbids thy use,
 Conceales not from us, naming thee the Tree
 Of Knowledge, knowledge both of good and evil;
 Forbids us then to taste, but his forbidding
 Commends thee more, while it inferrs the good
 755 By thee communicated, and our want:
 For good unknown, sure is not had, or had
 And yet unknown, is as not had at all.
 In plain then, what forbids he but to know,
 Forbids us good, forbids us to be wise?
 760 Such prohibitions binde not, But if Death
 Bind us with after-bands, what profits then
 Our inward freedom? In the day we eate
 Of this fair Fruit, our doom is, we shall die.
 How dies the Serpent? hee hath eat'n and lives,
 765 And knows, and speaks, and reasons, and discerns,
 Irrational till then. For us alone
 Was death invented? or to us deni'd
 This intellectual food, for beasts reserv'd?
 For Beasts it seems: yet that one Beast which first

Hath

739 Mean while] Meanwhile 745 Fruits.] Fruits, The comma seems needed here, but 1674 may be foul case. 746 and] & 760 not.]] The punctuation in every 1674 copy examined is either a battered period that looks like a comma, or a battered comma that looks like a period. A period is certainly wanted here. 763 we]] Stressed. 765 difcerns,] discernes, The n is very faint in most 1674 copies examined.

Book IX. *Paradise Lost.* 237

- 770 Hath tasted, envies not, but brings with joy
 The good befall'n him, Author unsuspect,
 Friendly to man, farr from deceit or guile.
 What fear I then, rather what know to feare
 Under this ignorance of good and Evil,
 775 Of God or Death, of Law or Penaltie?
 Here grows the Cure of ail, this Fruit Divine,
 Fair to the Eye, inviting to the Taste,
 Of vertue to make wise: what hinders then
 To reach, and feed at once both Bodie and Mind?
- 780 So saying, her rash hand in evil hour
 Forth reaching to the Fruit, she pluck'd, she eat:
 Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her seat
 Sighing through all her Works gave signs of woe,
 That all was lost. Back to the Thicket flunk
- 785 The guiltie Serpent, and well might, for *Eve*
 Intent now wholly on her taste, naught else
 Regarded, such delight till then, as seemd,
 In Fruit she never taisted, whether true
 Or fansied so, through expectation high
- 790 Of knowledg, nor was God-head from her thought.
 Greedily she ingorg'd without restraint,
 And knew not eating Death: Satiate at length,
 And hight'nd as with Wine, jocond and boon,
 Thus to her self she pleasingly began.
- 795 O Sovran, vertuous, precious of all Trees
 In Paradise, of operation blest
 To Sapience, hitherto obscur'd, infam'd,
 And thy fair Fruit let hang, as to no end
 Created; but henceforth my early care,
- 800 Not without Song, each Morning, and due praise
 Shall tend thee, and the fertil burden ease
 Of thy full branches offer'd free to all;
 Till dieted by thee I grow mature

In

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent battered period. 774 good] Good 794 *her self*]] The Columbia note is wrong, both 1667 and 1674 printing as two words, and the Columbia copies of 1667 and 1674 showing two words here.

238 **Paradise Lost.** Book IX.

- In knowledge, as the Gods who all things know ;
 805 Though others envie what they cannot give ;
 For had the gift bin theirs, it had not here
 Thus grown. Experience, next to thee I owe,
 Best guide ; not following thee, I had remaind
 In ignorance, thou op'nst Wisdoms way,
 810 And giv'st accels, though secret she retire.
 And I perhaps am secret ; Heav'n is high,
 High and remote to see from thence distinct
 Each thing on Earth ; and other care perhaps
 May have diverted from continual watch
 815 Our great Forbidder, safe with all his Spies
 About him. But to *Adam* in what sort
 Shall I appear ? shall I to him make known
 As yet my change, and give him to partake
 Full happiness with mee, or rather not,
 820 But keep the odds of Knowledge in my power
 Without Copartuer ? so to add what wants
 In Femal Sex, the more to draw his Love,
 And render me more equal, and perhaps,
 A thing not undesireable, somtime
 825 Superior ; for inferior who is free ?
 This may be well : but what if God have seen,
 And Death ensue ? then I shall be no more,
 And *Adam* wedded to another *Eve*,
 Shall live with her enjoying, I extinct ;
 830 A death to think. Confirm'd then I resolve,
Adam shall share with me in bliss or woe :
 So dear I love him, that with him all deaths
 I could endure, without him live no life.
 So saying, from the Tree her step she turnd,
 835 But first low Reverence don, as to the power
 That dwelt within, whose presence had infus'd
 Into the plant sciential sap, deriv'd

From

810 *she]] Stressed.* 831 *me]] Stressed.*

Book IX. *Paradise Lost.* 239

- From Nectar, drink of Gods. *Adam* the while
 Waiting desirous her return, had wove
 840 Of choicest Flours a Garland to adorne
 Her Tresses, and her rural labours crown,
 As Reapers oft are wont thir Harvest Queen.
 Great joy he promis'd to his thoughts, and new
 Solace in her return, so long delay'd ;
 845 Yet oft his heart, divine of somthing ill,
 Misgave him ; hee the faultring measure felt ;
 And forth to meet her went, the way she took
 That Morn when first they parted; by the Tree
 Of Knowledge he must pass, there he her met,
 850 Scarfe from the Tree returning ; in her hand
 A bough of fairest fruit that downie smil'd,
 New gatherd, and ambrosial smell diffus'd.
 To him she hasted, in her face excuse
 Came Prologue, and Apologie to prompt,
 855 Which with bland words at will she thus addrest.
 Hast thou not wonderd, *Adam*, at my stay ?
 Thee I have misst, and thought it long, depriv'd
 Thy presence, agonie of love till now
 Not felt, nor shall be twice, for never more
 860 Mean I to trie, what rash untri'd I sought,
 The pain of absence from thy sight. But strange
 Hath bin the cause, and wonderful to heare :
 This Tree is not as we are told, a Tree
 Of danger tasted, nor to evil unknown
 865 Op'ning the way, but of Divine effect
 To open Eyes, and make them Gods who taste ;
 And hath bin tasted such : the Serpent wise,
 Or not restraint as wee, or not obeying.
 Hath eat'n of the fruit, and is become,
 870 Not dead, as we are threatn'd, but thenceforth
 Endu'd with human voice and human sense,

Reasoning

Running Head. Paradise] The broken P as on pages 223, 255, 269, 303. 841 crown,] crown
 849 he . . . he]] Stressed? 861 pain] paine 863 is] The recurrent faint s 870 we]]
 Stressed.

240 **Paradise Lost.** Book IX.

Reasoning to admiration, and with mee

Perswasively hath so prevaild, that I

Have also tasted, and have also found

875 Th' effects to correspond, opener mine Eyes,
Dimm erst, dilated Spirits, ampler Heart,
And growing up to Godhead ; which for thee
Chiefly I sought, without thee can despise.

For bliss, as thou hast part, to me is bliss,
880 Tedious, unshar'd with thee, and odious soon.

Thou therefore also taste, that equal Lot

May joyne us, equal Joy, as equal Love ;

Least thou not tasting, different degree

Disjoyne us, and I then too late renounce

885 Deitie for thee, when Fate will not permit.

Thus *Eve* with Countnance blithe her storie told ;
But in her Cheek distemper flushing glowl.

On th' other side, *Adam*, soon as he heard

The fatal Trespass don by *Eve*, amaz'd,

890 Astonied stood and Blank, while horror chill
Ran through his veins, and all his joyns relax'd ;
From his slack hand the Garland wreath'd for *Eve*
Down drop'd, and all the faded Roses shed :
Speechless he stood and pale, till thus at length

895 First to himself he inward silence broke.

O fairest of Creation, last and best
Of all Gods works, Creature in whom excell'd
Whatever can to sight or thought be formd,
Holy, divine, good, amiable, or sweet !

900 How art thou lost, how on a sudden lost,
Defac't, deflour'd, and now to Death devote ?
Rather how hast thou yeelded to transgress
The strict forbiddance, how to violate

The sacred Fruit forbidd'n ! som cursed fraud
905 Of Enemie hath beguil'd thee, yet unknown,

And

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 879 *me]]* Stressed.

881 *therefore]* therfore 885 *Deitie]* The t is faint in all copies examined. 897 *works,*] Works,

Book IX. *Paradise Lost.* 241

And mee with thee hath ruind, for with thee
 Certain my resolution is to Die ;
 How can I live without thee, how forgoe
 Thy sweet Converse and Love so dearly joyn'd,
 910 To live again in these wilde Woods forlorn ?
 Should God create another *Eve*, and I
 Another Rib afford, yet losſ of thee
 Would never from my heart ; no no, Iſ feel
 The Link of Nature draw me : Flesh of Flesh,
 915 Bone of my Bone thou art, and from thy State
 Mine never ſhall be parted, bliſ or woe.
 So having ſaid, as one from ſad diſmay
 Recomforted, and after thoughts diſturbd
 Submitting to what ſeemd remediless,
 920 Thus in calm mood his Words to *Eve* he turnd.
 Bold deed thou haſt presum'd, adventrous *Eve*,
 And peril great provok't, who thus hath dar'd
 Had it been onely coveting to Eye
 That ſacred Fruit, ſacred to abſtinence,
 925 Much more to taste it under banne to touch.
 But paſt who can recall, or don undoe ?
 Not God Omnipotent, nor Fate, yet ſo
 Perhaſt thou ſhalt not Die, perhaps the Faſt
 Is not ſo hainous now, foretaſted Fruit,
 930 Profan'd first by the Serpent, by him first
 Made common and unhallowd ere our taste ;
 Nor yet on him found deadly, he yet lives,
 Lives, as thou ſaidſt, and gaineſ to live as Man
 Higher degree of Life, inducement ſtrong
 935 To us, as likely tasting to attaine
 Proportional aſcent, which cannot be
 But to be Gods, or Angels Demi-gods.
 Nor can I think that God, Creator wiſe,
 Though threatning, will in earnest ſo deſtroy

R

Us

906 for] The o is very faint in a few copies examined. 907 Die;] The e barely prints in most copies examined. 912 losſ] The o barely prints in most copies examined. 916 parted,]] The comma is worn in all 1674 copies examined. 920 calm] calme 922 hath] haſt The change seems to be intentional, as the ſubject is who and third person singular, not 'thou' or second person singular. 923 been] bin 932 he]] Stressed?

242 *Paradise Lost.* Book IX.

- 940 Us his prime Creatures, dignifi'd so high,
Set over all his Works, which in our Fall,
For us created, needs with us must faile,
Dependent made ; so God shall uncreate,
Be frustrate, do, undo, and labour loose,
- 945 Not well conceav'd of God, who though his Power
Creation could repeate, yet would be loath
Us to abolish, least the Adversary
Triumph and say ; Fickle their State whom God
Most Favors, who can please him long ; Mee first
- 950 He ruind, now Mankind ; whom will he next ?
Matter of scorne, not to be given the Foe,
However I with thee have fixt my Lot,
Certain to undergoe like doom, if Death
Consort with thee, Death is to mee as Life ;
- 955 So forcible within my heart I feel
The Bond of Nature draw me to my owne,
My own in thee, for what thou art is mine ;
Our State cannot be severd, we are one,
One Flesh ; to loose thee were to loose my self.
- 960 So *Adam*, and thus *Eve* to him repli'd.
O glorious trial of exceeding Love,
Illustrious evidence, example high !
Ingaging me to emulate, but short
Of thy perfection, how shall I attaine,
- 965 *Adam*, from whose deare side I boast me sprung,
And gladly of our Union heare thee speak,
One Heart, one Soul in both ; whereof good prooff
This day affords, declaring thee resolv'd,
Rather then Death or aught then Death more dread
- 970 Shall separate us, linkt in Love so deare,
To undergoe with mee one Guilt, one Crime,
If any be, of tasting this fair Fruit,
Whose vertue, for of good still good proceeds,

Direct,

947 abolish,]] The comma is worn in all 1674 copies examined. 948 their]] But it seems difficult to stress this word. 949 long;] long? The 1674 semicolon may be foul case for the desired question mark. 951 Foe,] Foe. 958 we]] Stressed. 962 high1] high! All 1674 copies examined set 1 for '!'. 963 me]] Stressed.

Book IX. *Paradise Lost.* 243

- 975 Direct, or by occasion hath presented
 This happie trial of thy Love, which else
 So eminently never had bin known.
 Were it I thought Death menac't would ensue
 This my attempt, I would sustain alone
 The worst, and not perswade thee rather die
 980 Deserted, then oblige thee with a fact
 Pernicious to thy Peace, chiefly assur'd
 Remarkably so late of thy so true,
 So faithful Love unequall'd; but I feel
 Farr otherwise th' event, not Death, but Life
 985 Augmented, op'nd Eyes, new Hopes, new Joyes,
 Taste so Divine, that what of sweet before
 Hath toucht my sense, flat seems to this, and harsh.
 On my experience, *Adam*, freely taste,
 And fear of Death deliver to the Windes.
 990 So saying, she embrac'd him, and for joy
 Tenderly wept, much won that he his Love
 Had so enobl'd, as of choice to incur
 Divine displeasure for her sake, or Death.
 In recompence (for such compliance bad
 995 Such recompence best merits) from the bough
 She gave him of that fair enticing Fruit
 With liberal hand: he scrupl'd not to eat
 Against his better knowledge, not deceav'd,
 But fondly overcome with Femal charm.
 1000 Earth trembl'd from her entrails, as again
 In pangs, and Nature gave a second groan,
 Skie lowr'd and muttering Thunder, som sad drops
 Wept at compleating of the mortal Sin
 Original; while *Adam* took no thought,
 1005 Eating his fill, nor *Eve* to iterate
 Her former trespass fear'd, the more to soothe
 Him with her lov'dfocietie, that now

R 2

A

979 *thee*] *thee*, 991 *he*]] Stressed. 1002 *lowr'd*] *lowr'd*, The comma seems to be needed here. 1007 *lov'dfocietie,*] No space in any copy examined. Catchword. A] In a few copies the A is badly smeared.

244 *Paradise Lost.* Book IX.

- As with new Wine intoxicated both
 They swim in mirth, and fansie that they feel
 1010 Divinitie within them breeding wings
 Wherewith to scorne the Earth: but that false Fruit
 Farr other operation first displaid,
 Carnal desire enflaming, hee on *Eve*
 Began to cast lascivious Eyes, she him
 1015 As wantonly repaid; in Lust they burne:
 Till *Adam* thus gan *Eve* to dalliance move,
Eve, now I see thou art exact of taste,
 And elegant, of Sapience no small part,
 Since to each meaning favour me apply,
 1020 And Palate call judicious; I the praise
 Yeld thee, so well this day thou hast purvey'd.
 Much pleasure we have lost, while we abtain'd
 From this delightful Fruit, nor known till now
 True relish, tasting; if such pleasure be
 1025 In things to us forbidden, it might be wish'd,
 For this one Tree had bin forbidden ten.
 But come, so well refresh't, now let us play,
 As meet is, after such delicious Fare;
 For never did thy Beautie since the day
 1030 I saw thee first and wedded thee, adorn'd
 With all perfections, so enflame my sense
 With ardor to enjoy thee, fairer now
 Then ever, bountie of this vertuous Tree.
 So said he, and forbore not glance or toy
 1035 Of amorous intent, well understood
 Of *Eve*, whose Eye daried contagious Fire.
 Her hand he seis'd, and to a shadie bank,
 Thick overhead with verdant roof imbowr'd
 He led her nothing loath; Flours were the Couch,
 1040 Panties, and Violets, and Asphodel,
 And Hyacinth, Earths freshest softest lap.

There

1011 scorne] scorn 1012 operation] The first o is broken in all copies examined. 1015 burne:] Italic colon. 1016 move,] move. The period seems to be needed. 1019 me] we The word is stressed and should be 'we' 1022 First we]] Stressed. 1027 play,]] The comma is battered in all 1674 copies, but unmistakable.

Book IX. *Paradise Lost.* 245

There they thir fill of Love and Loves disport
 Took largely, of thir mutual guilt the Seale,
 The solace of thir sin, till dewie sleep
 1045 Oppress'd them, wearied with thir amorous play.
 Soon as the force of that fallacious Fruit,
 That with exhilarating vapour bland
 About thir spirits had plaid, and inmost powers
 Made erre, was now exhal'd, and grosser sleep
 1050 Bred of unkindly fumes, with conscious dreams
 Encumberd, now had left them, up they rose
 As from unrest, and each the other viewing,
 Soon found thir Eyes how op'nd, and thir minds
 How dark'nd; innocence, that as a veile
 1055 Had shadow'd them from knowing ill, was gon,
 Just confidence, and native righteousness
 And honour from about them, naked left
 To guiltie shame hee cover'd, but his Robe
 Uncover'd more, so rose the *Danite* strong
 1060 *Herculean Samson* from the Harlot-lap
 Of *Philisteian Dalilah*, and wak'd
 Shorn of his strength, They destitute and bare
 Of all thir vertue: silent, and in face
 Confounded long they sate, as struck'n mute,
 1065 Till *Adam*, though not less then *Eve* abash't,
 At length gave utterance to these words constrain'd.
 O *Eve*, in evil hour thou didst give eare
 To that false Worm, of whomsoever taught
 To counterfeat Mans voice, true in our Fall,
 1070 False in our promis'd Rising; since our Eyes
 Op'nd we find indeed, and find we know
 Both Good and Evil, Good lost, and Evil got,
 Bad Fruit of Knowledge, if this be to know,
 Which leaves us naked thus, of Honour void,
 1075 Of Innocence, of Faith, of Puricie,

R 3

Our

Running Head. *Loft.*] The recurrent round period. 1056 *righteousnes]* *righteousnes*,
 1059 *more, fo]* *more. So* 1062 *strength, They]]* Capital after comma as in 1667.
 1065 *abash't,]* *abafht,* 1067 *Eve,*] The top of the *E* is broken in all copies examined.

246 *Paradise Lost.* Book IX.

Our wonted Ornaments now soild and staind,
 And in our Faces evident the signes
 Of foul concupiscence ; whence evil store ;
 Even shame, the last of evils ; of the first
 1080 Be sure then. How shall I behold the face
 Henceforth of God or Angel, earst with joy
 And rapture so oft beheld ? those heav'ly shapes
 Will dazzle now this earthly, with thir blaze
 Insufferably bright. O might I here
 1085 In solitude live savage, in some glade
 Obscur'd, where highest Woods impenetrable
 To Starr or Sun-light, spread thir umbrage broad
 And brown as Evening : Cover me ye Pines,
 Ye Cedars, with innumerable boughs
 1090 Hide me, where I may never see them more.
 But let us now, as in bad plight, devise
 What best may from the present serve to hide
 The Parts of each for other, that seem most
 To shame obnoxious, and unseemliest seen,
 1095 Some Tree whose broad smoothLeaves together sowd,
 And girded on our loyns, may cover round
 Those middle parts, that this new commer, Shame,
 There sit not, and reproach us as unclean,
 So counsell'd hee, and both together went
 1100 Into the thickest Wood, there soon they chose
 The Figtree, not that kind for Fruit renown'd,
 But such as at this day to Indians known
 In Malabar or Decan spreds her Armes
 Braunching so broad and long, that in the ground
 1105 The bended Twigs take root, and Daughters grow
 About the Mother Tree, a Pillard shade
 High overarch't, and echoing Walks between ;
 There oft the Indian Herdsman shunning heate
 Shelters in coole, and tends his pasturing Herds

At

Running Head. Paradise] The ink smear on the bottom of the r is present in most copies examined.
 Lost.] The recurrent round period. 1087 broad] broad, 1092 from] for 1093 for] from
 There can be little doubt that the compositor transposed these two words in these lines, and that
 1667 is correct. 1095 smoothLeaves] No space but the line is long. 1098 unclean,] unclean.

Book IX. *Paradise Lost.* 247

- 1110 At Loopholes cut through thickest shade : Those
 They gatherd, broad as *Amazonian Targe*, (Leaves
 And with what skill they had, together sowd,
 To gird thir waste, vain Covering if to hide
 Thir guilt and dreaded shame ; O how unlike
 1115 To that first naked Glorie. Such of late
Columbus found th' *American* so girt
 With featherd Cincture, naked else and wilde
 Among the Trees on Iles and woodie Shores.
 Thus fenc't, and as they thought, thir shame in part
 1120 Coverd, but not at rest or eas'e of Mind,
 They late them down to weep, nor onely Teares
 Raind at thir Eyes, but high Winds worse within
 Began to rise, high Passions, Anger, Hate,
 Mistrust, Suspicion, Discord, and shook sore
 1125 Thir inward State of Mind, calm Region once
 And full of Peace, now tost and turbulent :
 For Understanding rul'd not, and the Will
 Heard not her lore, both in subjection now
 To sensual Appetite, who from beneath
 1130 Usurping over sovran Reason claimd
 Superior sway : from thus distempred brest,
Adam, estrang'd in look and alterd stile,
 Speech intermitted thus to *Eve* renewd.
 Would thou hadst heark'nd to my words, and stai'd
 1135 With me, as I besought thee, when that strange
 Desire of wandring this unhappy Morn,
 I know not whence posses'd thee ; we had then
 Remaind still happy, not as now, despoild
 Of all our good, sham'd, naked, miserable.
- 1140 Let none henceforth seek needless cause to approve
 The Faith they owe ; when earnestly they seek
 Such proof, conclude, they then begin to fail.
 To whom soon mov'd with touch of blame thus *Eve*.

R 4 What

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 1117 With] The i is very faint in all copies
 examined. 1125 calm] calme 1131 from] From 1134 and] &

248 *Paradise Lost.* Book IX.

- What words have past thy Lips, *Adam* severe,
 1145 Impur'st thou that to my default, or will
 Of wandring, as thou call'st it, which who knows
 But might as ill have happ'd thou being by,
 Or to thy self perhaps: hadst thou been there,
 Or here th' attempt, thou couldst not have discernd
 1150 Fraud in the Serpent, speaking as he spake;
 No ground of enmitie between us known,
 Why hee should mean me ill, or seek to harme.
 Was I to have never parted from thy side?
 As good have grown there still a liveless Rib.
 1155 Being as I am, why didst not thou the Head
 Command me absolutely not to go,
 Going into such danger as thou saidst?
 Too facil then thou didst not much gainsay,
 Nay didst permit, approve, and fair dismiss.
 1160 Hadst thou bin firm and fixt in thy dissent,
 Neither had I transgrefs'd, nor thou with mee.
 To whom then first incenst *Adam* repli'd,
 Is this the Love, is this the recompence
 Of mine to thee, ingrateful *Eve*, exprest
 1165 Immutable when thou wert lost, not I,
 Who might have liv'd and joyd immortal bliss,
 Yet willingly chose rather Death with thee:
 And am I now upbraided, as the cause
 Of thy transgressing? not enough severe,
 1170 It seems, in thy restraint: what could I more?
 I warn'd thee, I admonish'd thee, foretold
 The danger, and the lurking Enemie
 That lay in wait; beyond this had bin force,
 And force upon free will hath here no place.
 1175 But confidence then bore thee on, secure
 Either to meet no danger, or to finde
 Matter of glorious trial; and perhaps

J

Running Head. Loft.] The L is broken at the top, as on pages 276, 308, and 324.
 1146 wandring,] wandering. The 1674 form is better metrically, as the 1667 form makes the
 line one syllable too long. 1148 been] bin 1150 he]] Stressed. 1159 Nay] Nay,
 1162 repli'd,] repli'd. 1170 restraint:] Italic colon. 1174 will] Will

Book IX. *Paradise Lost.* 249

I also err'd in overmuch admiring
What seemd in thee so perfet, that I thought
1180 No evil durst attempt thee, but I rue
That error now, which is become my crime,
And thou th' accuser. Thus it shall befall
Him who to worth in Women overtrusting
Leis her will rule; restraint she will not brook,
1185 And left to her self, if evil thence ensue,
Shee first his weak indulgence will accuse.

Thus they in mutual accusation spent
The fruitless hours, but neither self-condemning,
And of thir vain contest appeare'd no end.

The End of the Ninth Book.

Paradise

Running Head. *Lost.*] The L is broken at the top and back in a slightly different manner than was the L in the running head on page 248. The same broken letter as this on page 249 occurs also on pages 268, 298, and 330. 1184 First will] Will
The End of the Ninth Book.] The end of the Eighth Book. Catchword. Paradise] PARA-

250

Paradise Lost.

BOOK X.

THE ARGUMENT.

Mans transgression known, the Guardian Angels forsake Paradise, and return up to Heaven to approve thir vigilance, and are approv'd, God declaring that The entrance of Satan could not be by them prevented.
 5 He sends his Son to judge the Transgressors, who descends and gives Sentence accordingly; then in pity cloaths them both, and reascends. Sin and Death siting till then at the Gates of Hell, by wondrous sympathie feeling the success of Satan in this new World,
 10 and the sin by Man there committed, resolve to sit no longer confin'd in Hell, but to follow Satan thir Sire up to the place of Man: To make the way easier from Hell to this World to and fro, they pave abroad Highway or Bridge over Chaos, according to the Track
 15 that Satan first made; then preparing for Earth, they met him proud of his success returning to Hell; thir mutual gratulation. Satan arrives at Pandemonium, in full of assembly relates with boasting his success

STATE 1 (copies 17 and 32 only)

There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 16.

Title. Paradise Lost.] PARADISE/ LOST. The rules are composite, not solid.

THE ARGUMENT. The Argument of 1674 Book 10 is the same as that of 1667 Book 9, and the collation here is of 1674, 1668, and 1669. 1 Mans] MAns] MAns 4 The] the]]
 5 Son]] Angels judge]] judge 6 descends]] descends, Sentence]] Sentence
 9 sympathie]] sympathy Satan]] Satan 10 Man]] man 12 To]] to way]] Way
 14 Track]] Tract 16 met\meet] meet]] 1674 copies 17 and 32 only read met It is assumed
 and only assumed that this reading was state 1, then the error was discovered and changed to
 state 2, meet 18 full of assembly] full assembly]] boasting] The o is faint in all copies examined.

250

Paradise Lost.

BOOK X.

THE ARGUMENT.

Mans transgression known, the Guardian Angels for-
5 sake Paradise, and return up to Heaven to approve
thir vigilance, and are approv'd, God declaring that
The entrance of Satan could not be by them prevented.
He sends his Son to judge the Transgressors, who de-
scends and gives Sentence accordingly ; then in pity
cloaths them both, and reascends. Sin and Death
10 sitting till then at the Gates of Hell, by wondrous sym-
pathie feeling the success of Satan in this new World,
and the sin by Man there committed, resolve to sit no
longer confin'd in Hell, but to follow Satan thir Sire
15 up to the place of Man : To make the way easier from
Hell to this World to and fro, they pave a broad High-
way or Bridge over Chaos, according to the Track
that Satan first made ; then preparing for Earth,
they meet him proud of his success returning to Hell ;
thir mutual gratulation. Satan arrives at Pandemo-
nium, in full of assembly relates with boasting his
success

STATE 2 (all copies examined except 17 and 32)
There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 16.

Because both the facing prints immediately before this page were versos as bound, this page is used only in order to have the next page, a recto as bound, print herein as a recto.

Book X. *Paradise Lost.* 251

success against Man; instead of applause is enter-
 20 tained with a general his by all his audience, trans-
 form'd with himself also suddenly into Serpents, ac-
 cording to his doom giv'n in Paradise; then deluded
 25 with a shew of the forbidden Tree springing up before
 them, they greedily reaching to take of the Fruit, chew
 dust and bitter ashes. The proceedings of Sin and
 Death; God foretels the final Victory of his Son over
 them, and the renewing of all things; but for the
 30 present commands his Angels to make several alterati-
 ons in the Heavens and Elements. Adam more and
 more perceiving his fall'n condition heavily bewailes,
 rejects the condolement of Eve; she persists and at
 length appeases him: then to evade the Curse likely to
 35 fall on thir Offspring, proposes to Adam violent wayes
 which he approves not, but conceiving better hope, puts
 her in mind of the late Promise made them, that her
 Seed should be reveng'd on the Serpent, and exhorts
 her with him to seek Peace of the offended Deity, by
 repentance and supplication.

Meanwhile the hainous and despightfull act
 Of Satan done in Paradise, and how
 Hee in the Serpent, had perverted Eve,
 Her Husband shee, to taste the fatall fruit,

5 Was known in Heav'n; for what can scape the Eye
 Of God All-seeing, or deceave his Heart
 Omniscent, who in all things wise and just,
 Hinder'd not *Satan* to attempt the minde
 Of Man, with strength entire, and free will arm'd,
 10 Complete to have discover'd and repulst
 Whatever wiles of Foe or seeming Friend.
 For still they knew, and ought to have still remember'd
 The high Injunction not to taste that Fruit,

Who-

THE ARGUMENT. The collation of the Argument only is 1674, 1668, and 1669.
 20 *entertained*]] *entertain'd* 24 *take*] *taste*]] 26 *foretels*]] *foretells*
 30 *condition*]] *condition*, 31 *rejects*]] *rejects* 32 *him:*] *him:*]] *then*]]
 33 *Offspring*,]] *wayes*]] *wayes*,

THE TEXT. The Text of 1674 Book 10 is 1667 Book 9. 3 Serpent,] Serpent 9 will] Will
 12 Second stil] stil!

252 *Paradise Lost.* Book X.

- Whoever tempted ; which they not obeying,
 15 Incurr'd, what could they less, the penaltie,
 And manifold in sin, deserv'd to fall.
 Up into Heav'n from Paradise in haste
 Th' Angelic Guards ascended, mute and sad
 For Man, for of his state by this they knew,
 20 Much wondring how the subtle Fiend had stoln
 Entrance unseen. Soon as th' unwelcome news
 From Earth arriv'd at Heaven Gate, displeas'd
 All were who heard, dim sadness did not spare
 That time Celestial visages, yet mixt
 25 With pitie, violated not thir bliss.
 About the new-arriv'd, in multitudes
 Th' ethereal People ran, to hear and know
 How all befell : they towards the Throne Supream
 Accountable made haste to make appear
 30 With righteous plea, thir utmost vigilance,
 And easily approv'd ; when the most High
 Eternal Father from his secret Cloud,
 Amidst in Thunder utter'd thus his voice.
 Assembl'd Angels, and ye Powers return'd
 35 From unsuccessful charge, be not dismaid,
 Nor troubl'd at these tidings from the Earth,
 Which your sincerest care could not prevent,
 Foretold so lately what would come to pass,
 When first this Tempter cross'd the Gulf from Hell.
 40 I told ye then he should prevail and speed
 On his bad Errand, Man should be seduc't
 And flatter'd out of all, believing lies
 Against his Maker ; no Decree of mine
 Concurring to necessitate his Fall,
 45 Or touch with lightest moment of impulse
 His free Will, to her own inclining left
 In even scale. But fall'n he is, and now

What

Running Head. Lost.] The L is broken at the top and constitutes still a third broken form differing slightly from the broken types on pages 248 and 249 respectively. This third kind of broken L occurs also on pages 288, 317, and 333. 17 hafte] haft 32-33 Although these lines were printed alike in 1667 and 1674, as early as 1719, some difficulty was noticed with the punctuation. The lines probably should read, beginning in line 31,

. . . when the most High
 Eternal Father, from his secret Cloud
 Amidst, in Thunder utter'd thus his voice.

1674 copy 19 has corrected thus with pen. 47 even\eevn 1674 follows state 2 of 1667.

Book X. *Paradise Lost.* 253

- What rests but that the mortal Sentence pass
On his transgression, Death denounc't that day,
50 Which he presumes already vain and void,
Because not yet inflicted, as he fear'd,
By some immediate stroak; but soon shall find
Forbearance no acquittance ere day end.
Justice shall not return as bountie scorn'd.
- But whom send I to judge them? whom but thee
Vicegerent Son, to thee I have transferr'd
55 All Judgement, whether in Heav'n, or Earth, or Hell.
Easie it might be seen that I intend
Mercie colleague with Justice, sending thee
60 Mans Friend, his Mediator, his design'd
Both Ransom and Redeemer voluntarie,
And destin'd Man himself to judge Man fall'n.
So spake the Father, and unfoulding bright
Toward the right hand his Glorie, on the Son
65 Blaz'd forth unclouded Deitie; he full
Resplendent all his Father manifest
Express'd, and thus divinely answer'd milde.
Father Eternal, thine is to decree,
Mine both in Heav'n and Earth to do thy will
70 Supream, that thou in mee thy Son belov'd
Mayst ever rest well pleas'd. I go to judge
On Earth these thy transgressors, but thou knowst,
Whoever judg'd, the worst on mee must light,
When time shall be, for so I undertook
75 Before thee; and not repenting, this obtaine
Of right, that I may mitigate thir doom
On me deriv'd, yet I shall temper so
Justice with Mercie, as may illustrate most
Them fully satisfied, and thee appease.
- Attendance none shall need, nor Train, where none
80 Are to behold the Judgment, but the judg'd,

Those

48 rests] rests, 49 transgression,]] In all 1674 copies, the space for the comma is present; but it is very faint in some and entirely lacking in others. 50 he]] Stressed. 57 Judgement,]] The comma was certainly set in 1674, but failed to print in most copies examined, although in a few, such as copy 16, a trace of the comma prints. 58 might] may 59 Justice,]] The 1674 comma either is very faint or fails to print, as in lines 49 and 57. 65 he]] Stressed. 72 transgressors,]] The comma is very faint in most 1674 copies examined. 77 me]] Stressed. deriv'd,]] The 1674 comma either is very faint or fails to print, as in lines 49, 57, and 59. 81 Judgment,] Judgement,

254 **Paradise Lost.** Book X.

Thos two ; the third best absent is condemn'd,
Convict by flight, and Rebel to all Law
Conviction to the Serpent none belongs.

- 85 Thus saying, from his radiant Seat he rose
 Of high collateral glorie : him Thrones and Powers,
 Prinedoms, and Dominations ministrant
 Accompanied to Heaven Gate, from whence
 Eden and all the Coast in prospect lay.
- 90 Down he descended strait ; the speed of Gods
 Time counts not, though with swiftest minutes wing'd.
 Now was the Sun in Western cadence low
 From Noon, and gentle Aires due at thir hour
 To fan the Earth now wak'd, and usher in
- 95 The Eevning coole when he from wrauth more coole
 Came the mild Judge and Intercessor both
 To sentence Man : the voice of God they heard
 Now walking in the Garden, by soft windes
 Brought to thir Ears, while day declin'd, they heard,
- 100 And from his presence hid themselves among
 The thickest Trees, both Man and Wife, till God
 Approaching, thus to *Adam* call'd aloud.
 Where art thou *Adam*, wont with joy to meet
 My coming seen far off ? I miss thee here,
105 Not pleas'd, thus entertaind with solitude,
 Where obvious dutie erewhile appear'd unsought :
 Or come I less conspicuous, or what change
 Absents thee, or what chance detains ? Come forth.
 He came, and with him *Eve*, more loth, though first
- 110 To offend, discount'nanc't both, and discompos'd ;
 Love was not in thir looks, either to God
 Or to each other, but apparent guilt,
 And shame, and perturbation, and despaire,
 Anger, and obstinacie, and hate, and guile.
- 115 Whence *Adam* faultring long, thus answer'd brief.
 I heard thee in the Garden, and of thy voice Af.

95 *he]]* Stressed. Catchword. Af-] This page, like page 68, contains thirty-five lines of type and the catchword is printed on, not below, the bottom line of text.

Book X. *Paradise Lost.* 255

- Affraid, being naked, hid my self. To whom
The gracious Judge without revile repli'd.
My voice thou oft hast heard, and hast not fear'd.
120 But still rejoyc't, how is it now become
So dreadful to thee? that thou art naked, who
Hath told thee? hast thou eaten of the Tree
Whereof I gave thee charge thou shouldst not eat?
To whom thus *Adam* sore beset repli'd.
125 O Heav'n! in evil strait this day I stand
Before my Judge, either to undergoe
My self the total Crime, or to accuse
My other self, the partner of my life;
Whose failing, while her Faith to me remaines,
130 I should conceal, and not expose to blame
By my complaint; but strict necessitie
Subdues me, and calamitous constraint
Least on my head both sin and punishment,
However insupportable, be all
135 Devolv'd; though should I hold my peace, yet thou
Wouldst easily detect what I conceale.
This Woman whom thou mad'st to be my help,
And gav'st me as thy perfet gift, so good,
So fit, so acceptable, so Divine,
140 That from her hand I could suspect no ill,
And what she did, whatever in it self,
Her doing seem'd to justifie the deed;
Shee gave me of the Tree, and I did eat.
To whom the sovran Presence thus repli'd.
145 Was shee thy God, that her thou didst obey
Before his voice, or was shee made thy guide,
Superior, or but equal, that to her
Thou didst resigne thy Manhood, and the Place
Wherein God set thee above her made of thee,
150 And for thee, whose perfection farr excell'd

Hers

Running Head. *Paradise*] The broken P as on pages 223, 239, 269, and 303. 129 me]] Stressed?
132 constraint] constraint, 141 it] The dot over the i barely prints in all copies examined.

256 *Paradise Lost.* Book X.

Hers in all real dignitie : Adornd
 Shee was indeed, and lovely to attract
 Thy Love, not thy Subjection, and her Gifts
 Were such as under Government well seem'd,
 155 Unseemly to beare rule, which was thy part
 And person, had'st thou known thy self aright.
 So having said, he thus to *Eve* in few :
 Say Woman, what is this which thou hast done ?
 To whom sad *Eve* with shame nigh overwhelm'd,
 160 Confessing soon, yet not before her Judge
 Bold or loquacious, thus abasht repli'd.
 The Serpent me beguil'd and I did eat.
 Which when the Lord God heard, without delay
 To Judgement he proceeded on th' accus'd
 165 Serpent though brute, unable to transferre
 The Guilt on him who made him instrument
 Of mischief, and polluted from the end
 Of his Creation ; justly then accurst,
 As vitiated in Nature : more to know
 170 Concern'd not Man (since he no further knew)
 Nor alter'd his offence ; yet God at last
 To Satan first in sin his doom apply'd,
 Though in mysterious terms, judg'd as then best :
 And on the Serpent thus his curse let fall.
 175 Because thou hast done this, thou art accurst
 Above all Cattle, each Beast of the Field ;
 Upon thy Belly groveling thou shalt goe,
 And dust shalt eat all the dayes of thy Life.
 Between Thee and the Woman I will put
 180 Enmitie, and between thine and her Seed ;
 Her Seed shall bruise thy head, thou bruise his heel.
 So spake this Oracle, then verifi'd
 When *Jesus* son of *Mary* second *Eve*,
 Saw Satan fall like Lightning down from Heav'n,

Prince

151 dignitie:] Italic colon. 152 Shee] She Stressed? 176 Cattle,] Cattel, each] The c is faint in all copies examined. 178 dayes] days 181 bruise thy] bruise thy

Book X. **Paradise Lost.** 257

- 185 Prince of the Aire ; then rising from his Grave
 Spoild Principalities and Powers, triumpht
 In open shew, and with ascention bright
 Captivity led captive through the Aire,
 The Realm it self of Satan long usurpt,
- 190 Whom he shall tread at last under our feet ;
 Evn hee who now foretold his fatal bruise,
 And to the Woman thus his Sentence turn'd.
 Thy sorrow I will greatly multiplie
 By thy Conception; Children thou shalt bring
- 195 In sorrow forth, and to thy Husbands will
 Thine shall submit, hee over thee shall rule.
 On *Adam* last thus judgement he pronounc'd.
 Because thou hast heark'nd to the voice of thy Wife,
 And eaten of the Tree concerning which
- 200 I charg'd thee, saying : Thou shalt not eate thereof,
 Curs'd is the ground for thy sake, thou in sorrow
 Shalt eate thereof all the days of thy Life ;
 Thorns also and Thistles it shall bring thee forth
 Unbid, and thou shalt eate th' Herb of th' Field,
- 205 In the sweat of thy Face shalt thou eat Bread,
 Till thou return unto the ground, for thou
 Out of the ground wast taken, know thy Birth,
 For dust thou art, and shalt to dust returne.
- So judg'd he Man, both Judge and Saviour sent,
 210 And th' instant stroke of Death denounc't that day
 Remov'd farr off; then pittyng how they stood
 Before him naked to the aire, that now
 Must suffer change, disdain'd not to begin
 Thenceforth the form of servant to assume,
- 215 As when he wash'd his servants feet so now
 As Father of his Familie he clad
 Thir nakedness with Skins of Beasts, or slain,
 Or as the Snake with youthful Coate repaid;

S And

189 Realm] Realme 194 Children] Childern 203 Thorns] Thornes 205 eat] eate
 214 form] forme 215 feet] feet,

258 *Paradise Lost.* Book X.

- And thought not much to cloath his Enemies :
 220 Nor hee thir outward onely with the Skins
 Of Beasts, but inward nakednes, much more
 Opprobrious, with his Robe of righteousness,
 Araying cover'd from his Fathers sight.
 To him with swift ascent he up returnd,
 225 Into his blissful bosom reassum'd
 In glory as of old, to him appeas'd
 All, though all-knowing, what had past with Man
 Recounted, mixing intercession sweet.
 Meanwhile ere thus was sin'd and judg'd on Earth,
 230 Within the Gates of Hell sate Sin and Death,
 In counterview within the Gates, that now
 Stood open wide, belching outrageous flame
 Farr into Chaos, since the Fiend pass'd through,
 Sin opening, who thus now to Death began.
 235 O Son, why sit we here each other viewing
 Idlely, while Satan our great Author thrives
 In other Worlds, and happier Seat provides
 For us his offspring deare ? It cannot be
 But that success attends him ; if mishap,
 240 Ere this he had return'd, with fury driv'n
 By his Avengers, since no place like this
 Can fit his punishment, or their revenge.
 Methinks I feel new strength within me rise,
 Wings growing, and Dominion giv'n me large
 245 Beyond this Deep ; whatever drawes me on,
 Or sympathie, or som connatural force
 Powerful at greatest distance to unite
 With secret amity things of like kinde
 By secretest conveyance. Thou my Shade
 250 Inseparable must with mee along :
 For Death from Sin no power can separate.
 But least the difficultie of passing back

Stay

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent battered period. 220 *onely]]* Stressed first syllable.
 222 *Opprobrious,*] The recurrent broken s 241 *Avengers,*] Avenger, To agree with the number of the pronoun *their* in the next line, the change seems to be deliberate. Catchword. Stay]
 The t is very faint in most copies examined and is entirely lacking in copy 20.

Book X. *Paradise Lost.* 259

- Stay his return perhaps over this Gulf
 Impassable, Impervious, let us try
 255 Adventurous work, yet to thy power and mine
 Not unagreeable, to found a path
 Over this Maine from Hell to that new World
 Where Satan now prevails, a Monument
 Of merit high to all th' infernal Host,
 260 Easing thir passage hence, for intercourse,
 Or transmigration, as thir lot shall lead.
 Nor can I miss the way, so strongly drawn
 By this new felt attraction and instinct.
 Whom thus the meager Shadow answerd soon.
- Goe whither Fate and inclination strong
 Leads thee, I shall not lag behinde, nor erre
 The way, thou leading, such a sent I draw
 Of carnage, prey innumerable, and taste
 The savour of Death from all things there that live :
 270 Nor shall I to the work thou enterprisest
 Be wanting, but afford thee equal aid,
 So saying, with delight he snuff'd the smell
 Of mortal change on Earth. As when a flock
 Of ravenous Fowl, though many a League remote,
 275 Against the day of Battel, to a Field,
 Where Armies lie encampt, come flying, lur'd
 With sent of living Carcasses design'd
 For death, the following day, in bloodie fight.
 So sented the grim Feature, and upturn'd
- 280 His Nostril wide into the murkie Air,
 Sagacious of his Quarry from so farr.
 Then Both from out Hell Gates into the waste
 Wide Anarchie of Chaos damp and dark
 Flew divers, and with Power (thir Power was great)
 285 Hovering upon the Waters ; what they met
 Solid or slimie, as in raging Sea

S 2

Toft

253 return] returne 254 Impervious,] impervious, 271 aid,] aid. 281 Quarry] Quarrey
 284 and] &

260 *Paradise Lost.* Book X.

- Tost up and down, together crowded drove
 From each side shoaling towards the mouth of Hell.
 As when two Polar Winds blowing adverse
 290 Upon the *Cronian* Sea, together drive
 Mountains of Ice, that stop th' imagin'd way
 Beyond *Petsora* Eastward, to the rich
Carthian Coast. The aggregated Soyle
 Death with his Mace petrific, cold and dry,
 295 As with a Trident smote, and fix't as firm
 As *Delos* floating once; the rest his look
 Bound with *Gorgonian* rigor not to move,
 And with *Aphastic* slime; broad as the Gate,
 Deep to the Roots of Hell the gather'd beach
 300 They fasten'd, and the Mole immense wraught on
 Over the foaming deep high Archt, a Bridge
 Of length prodigious joyning to the Wall
 Immovable of this now fenceleſs world
 Forfeit to Death; from hence a paſſage broad,
 305 Smooth, easie, inoffeſſive down to Hell.
 So, if great things to ſmall may be compar'd,
Xerxes, the Libertie of *Greece* to yoke,
 From *Susa* his *Memnonian* Palace high
 Came to the Sea, and over *Helleſpont*
 310 Bridging his way, *Europe* with *Asia* joyn'd,
 And ſcourg'd with many a stroak th' indignant waves.
 Now had they brought the work by wondrous Art
 Pontifical, a ridge of pendent Rock
 Over the vext Abys, following the track
 315 Of *Satan*, to the ſelf same place where hee
 First lighted from his Wing, and landed ſafe
 From out of *Chaos* to the out ſide bare
 Of this round World: with Pinns of Adamant
 And Chains they made all fast, too fast they made
 320 And durable; and now in little ſpace

The

296-300 As printed, 1667 or 1674, these lines are difficult. Copy 19 has penned in different punctuation as follows:

. . . the rest his look
 Bound with Gorgonian rigor not to move;
 And with Asphaltic slime, broad as the Gate,
 Deep to the Roots of Hell the gather'd beach
 They fasten'd, . . .

This seems to me to be a great improvement, and greatly clarifies an otherwise befuddling passage. But no 1674 or 1667 copy examined shows the passage in any other way than in the above reproduction. 303 *Immovable*] Immoveable 317 *out ſide*] outside 318 *round*] The *n* is faint in all copies examined.

Book X. *Paradise Lost.* 261

- The confines met of Empyrean Heav'n
 And of this World, and on the left hand Hell
 With long reach interpos'd ; three sev'ral wayes
 In sight, to each of these three places led.
 325 And now thir way to Earth they had descri'd,
 To Paradise first tending, when behold
Satan in likeness of an Angel bright
 Betwixt the *Centaure* and the *Scorpion* steering
 His *Zenith*, while the Sun in *Aries* rose :
 330 Disguis'd he came, but those his Children dear
 Thir Parent soon discern'd, though in disguise.
 Hee after *Eve* seduc't, unminded slunk
 Into the Wood fast by, and changing shape
 To observe the sequel, saw his guileful act
 335 By *Eve*, though all unweeting, seconded
 Upon her Husband, saw thir shame that sought
 Vain covertures ; but when he saw descend
 The Son of God to judge them terrifi'd
 Hee fled, not hoping to escape, but shun
 340 The present, fearing guiltie what his wrauth
 Might suddenly inflict ; that paſt, return'd
 By Night, and listening where the hapless Paire
 Sate in thir sad discourse, and various plaint,
 Thence gatherd his own doom, which understood
 345 Not instant, but of future time. With joy
 And tidings fraught, to Hell he now return'd,
 And at the brink of *Chaos*, neer the foot
 Of this new wondrous Pontifice, unhop't
 Met who to meet him came, his Offspring dear.
 350 Great joy was at thir meeting, and at sight
 Of that stupendious Bridge his joy enreas'd.
 Long hee admiring stood, till Sin, his faire
 Inchanting Daughter, thus the silence broke.
 O Parent, these are thy magnific deeds,

S 3

Thy

Running Head. *Lost.*] The f of the ft ligature is faint in most copies examined. Again, the round period. 321 *confines*] Confines 330 *Children*] Childern 332 *Hee*] Hee, The comma seems to be needed. 338 *them*] them, Again the comma seems to be needed. 339 *Hee]]* It is difficult to stress this word. 342 *listening*] listning

262 *Paradise Lost.* Book X.

- 355 Thy Trophies, which thou view'st as not thine own,
 Thou art thir Author and prime Architect :
 For I no sooner in my Heart divin'd,
 My Heart, which by a secret harmonie
 Still moves with thine, join'd in connexion sweet,
 360 That thou on Earth hadst prosper'd, which thy looks
 Now also evidence, but straight I felt
 Though distant from thee Worlds between, yet felt
 That I must after thee with this thy Son;
 Such fatal consequence unites us three :
 365 Hell could no longer hold us in her bounds,
 Nor this unvoyageable Gulf obscure
 Detain from following thy illustrious track.
 Thou hast achiev'd our libertie, confin'd
 Within Hell Gates till now, thou us impow'rd
 370 To fortifie thus farr, and overlay
 With this portentous Bridge the dark Abyss.
 Thine now is all this World, thy vertue hath won
 What thy hands builded not, thy Wisdom gain'd
 With odds what Warr hath lost, and fully aveng'd
 375 Our foile in Heav'n; here thou shalt Monarch reign,
 There didst not ; there let him still Victor sway,
 As Battel hath adjug'd, from this new World
 Retiring, by his own doom alienated,
 And henceforth Monarchie with thee divide
 380 Of all things parted by th' Empyreal bounds,
 His Quadrature, from thy Orbicular World,
 Or trie thee now more dang'rous to his Throne.
 Whom thus the Prince of Darkness answerd glad.
 Fair Daughter, and thou Son and Grandchild both,
 385 High proof ye now have giv'n to be the Race
 Of Satan (for I glorie in the name,
 Antagonist of Heav'n's Almighty King)

Ampli

359 join'd] joyn'd 363 Son;]] The top element of the semicolon is very faint in all 1674 copies examined. 380 things] things, The comma seems unwanted. 384 Fair] The i is faint in all copies examined.

Book X. *Paradise Lost.* 26;

Amply have merited of me, of all
 Th' infernal Empire, that so neer Heav'ns dore
 390 Triumphal with triumphal act have mer,
 Mine with this glorious Work, and made one Realm
 Hell and this World, one Realm, one Continent
 Of easie thorough-fare. Therefore while I
 Descend through Darkness, on your Rode with ease
 395 To my associate Powers, them to acquaint
 With these successes, and with them rejoice,
 You two this way, among these numerous Orbs
 All yours, right down to Paradise descend ;
 There dwell and Reign in bliss, thence on the Earth
 400 Dominion exercise and in the Aire,
 Chiefly on Man, sole Lord of all declar'd,
 Him first make sure your thrall, and lastly kill.
 My Substitutes I send ye, and Create
 Plenipotent on Earth, of matchless might
 405 Issuing from mee : on your joynt vigor now
 My hold of this new Kingdom all depends,
 Through Sin to Death expos'd by my exploit.
 If your joynt power prevailes, th' affaires of Hell
 No detriment need feare, goe and be strong.
 410 So saying he dismiss'd them, they with speed
 Thir course through thickest Constellations held
 Spreading thir bane ; the blasted Starrs lookt wan,
 And Planets, Planet-strook, real Eclips
 Then sufferd. Th' other way *Satan* went down
 415 The Causey to Hell Gate ; on either side
 Disparted *Chaos* over built exclaimd,
 And with rebounding surge the barrs assaild,
 That scorn'd his indignation : through the Gate,
 Wide open and unguarded, *Satan* pass'd,
 420 And all about found desolate ; for those
 Appointed to sit there, had left thir charge,

S 4

Flown

388 me,]] Stressed. 389 infernal] Infernal 391 and] & 397 these] those 399 and] &
 408 prevailes,] prevaile, 416 exclaimd,] The d is faint in some copies examined and prac-
 tically indiscernible in others.

264 *Paradise Lost.* Book X.

- Flown to the upper World ; the rest were all
 Farr to the inland retir'd, about the walls
 Of Pandæmonium, Citie and proud seate
 425 Of Lucifer, so by allusion calld,
 Of that bright Starr to Satan paragond.
 There kept thir Watch the Legions, while the Grand
 In Council sat, sollicitous what chance
 Might intercept thir Emperour sent, so hee
 430 Departing gave command, and they observ'd.
 As when the Tartar from his Russian Foe
 By Astracan over the Snowie Plaines
 Retires, or Bactrian Sophi from the hornes
 Of Turkish Crescent, leaves all waste beyond
 435 The Realm of Aladule, in his reteate
 To Tauris or Casbeen. So these the late
 Heav'n-banisht Host, left desert utmost Hell
 Many a dark League, reduc't in careful Watch
 Round thir Metropolis, and now expecting
 440 Each hour their great adventurer from the search
 Of Forrein Worlds : he through the midst unmarkt,
 In shew Plebeian Angel militant
 Of lowest order, past ; and from the dore
 Of that Plutonian Hall, invisible
 445 Ascended his high Throne, which under state
 Of richest texture spred, at th' upper end
 Was plac't in regal lustre. Down a while
 He sat, and round about him saw unseen :
 At last as from a Cloud his fulgent head
 450 And shape Starr bright appeard, or brighter, clad
 With what permissive glory since his fall
 Was left him, or false glitter : All amaz'd
 At that so sudden blaze the Stygian throng
 Bent thir aspect, and whom they wish'd beheld,
 455 Thir mighty Chief returnd : loud was th' acclaine :
Forth

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 423 inland] in-land The 1667 hyphen does not show in my volume 2:547 (Book 9:423) because it was lacking in 1667 copy 36 photographed. It shows in about half of all the 1667 copies examined and is missing in the other half. 431 *Tartar*] The bottom of the first *r* is broken off in all copies examined. 435 *Realm*] Realme 439 *thir*]] Seems to be stressed, but see next line. 440 *their*]] Seems to be unstressed. Apparently the 1667 compositor intended, or was asked to change *their* in 440 to 'thir' and becoming confused, changed the word in the wrong line, as 1667 line 440 probably originally read 'thir' in the manuscript. 441 *he*]] Stressed. 442 *Plebeian*] plebeian 450 *Starr bright*] Starr-bright

Book X. *Paradise Lost.* 265

Forth rush'd in haste the great consulting Peers,
Rais'd from thir Dark *Divan*, and with like joy
Congratulant approach'd him, who with hand
Silence, and with these words attention won.

- 460 Thrones, Dominations, Prinedoms, Vertues, Powers,
For in possession such, not onely of right,
I call ye and declare ye now, returnd
Successful beyond hope, to lead ye forth
Triumphant out of this infernal Pit
- 465 Abominable, accurst, the house of woe,
And Dungeon of our Tyrant : Now posses,
As Lords, a spacious World, to our native Heaven
Little inferiour, by my adventure hard
With peril great atchiev'd. Long were to tell
- 470 What I have don, what sufferd, with what paine
Voyag'd th' unreal, vast, unbounded deep
Of horrible confusion, over which
By Sin and Death a broad way now is pav'd
To expedite your glorious march ; but I
- 475 Toild out my uncouth passage, forc't to ride
Th' untractable Abyss, plung'd in the womb
Of unoriginal *Night* and *Chaos* wilde,
That jealous of thir secrets fiercely oppos'd
My journey strange, with clamorous uproare
- 480 Protesting Fate supreame ; thence how I found
The new created World, which fame in Heav'n
Long had foretold, a Fabrick wonderful
Of absolute perfection, therein Man
Plac't in a Paradise, by our exile
- 485 Made happie : Him by fraud I have seduc'd
From his Creator, and the more to increase
Your wonder, with an Apple ; he thereat
Offended, worth your laughter, hath giv'n up
Both his beloved Man and all his World,

To

457 Dark] dark 461 onely]] The first syllable is stressed. 466 Tyrant:] Italic colon.
467 native] The t is out of alignment in all copies examined.

266 *Paradise Lost.* Book X.

- 490 To Sin and Death a prey, and so to us,
Without our hazard, labour, or allarme,
To range in, and to dwell, and over Man
To rule, as over all he should have rul'd.
True is, mee also he hath judg'd, or rather
495 Mee not, but the brute Serpent in whose shape
Man I deceav'd : that which to mee belongs,
Is enmity, which he will put between
Mee and Mankinde ; I am to bruise his heel ;
His Seed, when is not set, shall bruise my head :
500 A World who would not purchase with a bruise,
Or much more grievous pain ? Ye have th' account
Of my performance : What remains, ye Gods,
But up and enter now into full bliss.
- So having said, a while he stood, expecting
505 Thir univerſal shout and high applause
To fill his eare, when contrary he hears
On all sides, from innumerable tongues
A dismal universal hiss, the sound
Of public scorn ; he wonderd, but not long
510 Had leasure, wondring at himself now more ;
His Visage drawn he felt to sharp and spare,
His Armes clung to his Ribs, his Leggs entwining
Each other, till supplanted down he fell
A monstrous Serpent on his Belly prone,
515 Reluctant, but in vaine, a greater power
Now rul'd him, puniſht in the ſhape he ſin'd,
According to his doom : he would have ſpoke,
But hisſ for hisſ returnd with forked tongue
To forked tongue, for now were all transform'd
520 Alike, to Serpents all as accessories
To his bold Riot : dreadful was the din
Of hisſing through the Hall, thick swarming now
With complicated monsters head and taile,

Scorpion

Running Head. In copies 9 and 13 there is a space work-up between *Paradife* and *Loſt.* and the period is the recurrent round one. 494 *he]] Stressed?* 498 *Mankinde;]* The *a* is battered in all copies examined. 502 *remains,]* *remaines,* 519-521 Copy 19 contains corrections with a pen of the punctuation in line 520 as follows:

... for now were all transform'd
Alike, to Serpents all, as accessories
To his bold Riot: ...

Whoever penned the change, first struck out the comma after *Alike*, and inserted one after *Serpents* then restored the comma after *Alike*, struck out the insertion after *Serpents* and inserted a comma after *all* with the final result as in the above excerpt. There is one curious fact directly connected with this passage, though no editor to my knowledge has ever noticed it. In the 1667 text, see my volume 2:550, there is a space for punctuation between the words 'all' and 'as' though no copy of the first edition examined printed any punctuation here. But I am inclined to think that some punctuation was originally set here in 1667, then Milton or someone for him intended to make some change. The only result of this intent was to make matters worse by removing the comma between *all* and *as* without other change. Whoever penned in the comma in copy 19 probably came as close as anyone ever can come to understanding what Milton wanted here. There is also the possibility that the various penned corrections in this copy were performed in the print shop. 523 *monsters]* *monsters,*

Book X. *Paradise Lost.* 267

- Scorpion and Asp, and *Amphisbana* dire,
 525 *Cerastes* hornd, *Hydrus*, and *Ellops* drear,
 And *Dipsas* (not so thick swarm'd once the Soil
 Bedropt with blood of *Gorgon*, or the Isle
Ophiusa) but still greatest hee the midst,
 Now Dragon grown, larger then whom the Sun
 530 Ingenderd in the *Pythian* Vale on slime,
 Huge *Python*, and his Power no less he seem'd
 Above the rest still to retain; they all
 Him follow'd issuing forth to th' open Field,
 Where all yet left of that revolted Rout
 535 Heav'n-fall'n, in station stood or just array,
 Sublime with expectation when to see
 In Triumph issuing forth thir glorious Chief;
 They saw, but other fight instead, a crowd
 Of ugly Serpents; horror on them fell,
 540 And horrid sympathie; for what they saw,
 They felt themselvs now changing; down thir arms,
 Down fell both Spear and Shield, down they as fast,
 And the dire hiss renew'd, and the dire form
 Catcht by Contagion, like in punishment,
 545 As in thir crime. Thus was th' applause they meant,
 Turn'd to exploding hiss, triumph to shame
 Cast on themselves from thir own mouthis. There stood
 A Grove hard by, sprung up with this thir change,
 His will who reigns above, to aggravate
 550 Thir penance, laden with Fruit like that
 Which grew in Paradise, the bait of *Eve*
 Us'd by the Tempter: on that prospect strange
 Thir earnest eyes they fix'd, imagining
 For one forbidden Tree a multitude
 555 Now ris'n, to work them furder woe or shame;
 Yet parcht with scalding thirst and hunger fierce,
 Though to delude them sent, could not abstain,

But

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent battered period. 526 (not] (Not 547 thir]) Stressed? 550 with *Fruit*,] with fair *Fruit*, 1667 is metrically correct, and the line in 1674 is deficient by one syllable. The comma in 1674 is very faint in some copies examined and entirely lacking in others.

268 *Paradise Lost.* Book X.

- But on thy rould in heaps, and up the Trees
 Climbing, sat thicker then the snakie locks
 560 That curld *Megara*: greedily they pluck'd
 The Frutage fair to sight, like that which grew
 Neer that bituminous Lake where *Sodom* flam'd ;
 This more delusive, not the touch, but taste
 Deceav'd ; they fondly thinking to allay
 565 Thir appetite with gust, instead of Fruit
 Chewd bitter Ashes, which th' offended taste
 With spattering noise rejected : oft they assayd,
 Hunger and thirst constraining, drugd as oft,
 With hatefulest disrelish writh'd thir jaws
 570 With foot and cinders fill'd ; so oft they fell
 Into the same illusion, not as Man (plagu'd
 Whom they triumph'd once lapst. Thus were they
 And worn with Famin, long and ceasless hiss,
 Till thir lost shape, permitted, they resum'd,
 575 Yearly enjoynd, some say, to undergo
 This annual humbling certain number'd days,
 To dash thir pride, and joy for Man seduc't.
 However some tradition they dispers'd
 Among the Heathen of thir purchase got,
 580 And Fabl'd how the Serpent, whom they call'd
Ophion with *Eurynome*, the wide-
 Encroaching *Eve* perhaps, had first the rule
 Of high *Olympus*, thence by *Saturn* driv'n
 And *Ops*, ere yet *Ditean Jove* was born.
 585 Mean while in Paradise the hellish pair
 Too soon arriv'd, *Sin* there in power before,
 Once actual, now in body, and to dwell
 Habitual habitant ; behind her *Death*
 Close following pace for pace, not mounted yet
 590 On his pale Horse : to whom *Sin* thus began.
 Second of *Satan* sprung, all conquering *Death*,
 What

Running Head. *Loft.*] The broken L found also on pages 249, 298, and 330.

558 *thy*] they The whole upper right-hand corner of the page met with some accident, and the right-hand portion of the first ten or more lines of type show displacement. The first two lines on the page are badly jumbled in many copies examined. 572 *Whom*] The W is wrong font.

580-584 Few places in the poem call so insistently for the eye of Milton as this one. There is a double difficulty here, though most editors in the past have dwelt on one or the other of them, not both. The first difficulty arises from the awkward break of the phrase wide-/ *Encroaching* with the hyphen present in both 1667 and 1674. Milton's eye no doubt would instantly have removed this difficulty, which is partly metrical and partly connected with the second difficulty. This second difficulty arises from the punctuation, which Newton (1749) took as being exactly what Milton wanted, and hence concluded that the intention was clearly to connect the phrase wide-/ *Encroaching* with *Eve* rather than with *Eurynome*. Newton elaborated his point at some length; but not very convincingly, see his volume 2:259, 1749. Zachary Pearce, in his *Review of the Text of the Twelve Books of Milton's Paradise Lost* (London, 1733) page 340, seems to have been the first to attribute the compound epithet wide-/ *Encroaching* not to *Eve* but to *Eurynome*, and not without reason. After pointing out that the name *Eurynome*, can be roughly translated into English as meaning the wide-/ *Encroaching* he then suggested that a comma is needed between *Encroaching* and *Eve* in line 582, and certainly, if his suggestion is adopted, the second difficulty, that of meaning, is removed. But the awkwardness of slitting the phrase is not thereby entirely resolved, and though I can readily accept Pearce's suggestion for the comma, only Milton could overcome the awkward break in the compound, and I see no way short of changing *Encroaching* to resolve it.

591 *Death*,] The a is very faint in all copies examined.

Book X. *Paradise Lost.* 269

- What thinkst thou of our Empire now, though earnd
 With travail difficult, not better farr
 Then stil at Hels dark threshold to have fate watch,
 595 Unnam'd, undreaded, and thy self half starv'd?
 Whom thus the Sin-born Monster answerd soon.
 To mee, who with eternal Famin pine,
 Alike is Hell, or Paradise, or Heaven,
 There best, where most with ravin I may meet;
 600 Which here, though plenteous, all too little seems
 To stuff this Maw, this vast unhide-bound Corps.
 To whom th' incestuous Mother thus repli'd.
 Thou therefore on these Herbs, and Fruits, and Flours
 Feed first, on each Beast next, and Fish, and Fowle,
 605 No homely morsels, and whatever thing
 The Sithe of Time mowes down, devour unspar'd,
 Till I in Man residing through the Race,
 His thoughts, his looks, words, actions all infect,
 And season him thy last and sweetest prey.
 610 This said, they both betook them several wayes,
 Both to destroy, or unimmortal make
 All kinds, and for destruction to mature
 Sooner or later; which th' Almighty seeing,
 From his transcendent Seat the Saints among,
 615 To those bright Orders uttered thus his voice.
 See with what heat these Dogs of Hell advance
 To waste and havoc yonder World, which I
 So fair and good created, and had still
 Kept in that State, had not the folly of Man
 620 Let in these wretched Furies, who impute
 Folly to mee, so doth the Prince of Hell
 And his Adherents, that with so much ease
 I suffer them to enter and possess
 A place so heav'nly, and conniving seem
 625 To gratifie my scornful Enemies,

That

Running Head. *Paradise*] The broken P as on pages 223, 239, 255, and 303.
 603 Second and] & 619 State,) state,

270 *Paradise Lost.* Book X.

- That laugh, as if transported with some fit
 Of Passion, I to them had quitted all,
 At random yielded up to their misrule ;
 And know not that I call'd and drew them thither
 630 My Hell-hounds, to lick up the draf^t and filth
 Which mans polluting Sin with taint hath shed
 On what was pure, till cramm'd and gorg'd, nigh burst
 With suckt and glutted offal, at one fling
 Of thy victorious Arm, well-pleasing Son,
 635 Both Sin, and Death, and yawning Grave at last
 Through Chaos hurld, obstruct the mouth of Hell
 For ever, and seal up his ravenous Jawes.
 Then Heav'n and Earth renewd shall be made pure
 To sanctitie that shall receive no staine :
 640 Till then the Curse pronounc't on both precedes.
- He ended, and the heav'ly Audience loud
 Sung *Halleluia*, as the sound of Seas,
 Through multitude that sung : Just are thy ways,
 Righteous are thy Decrees on all thy Works ;
 645 Who can extenuate thee ? Next, to the Son,
 Destin'd restorer of Mankind, by whom
 New Heav'n and Earth shall to the Ages rise,
 Or down from Heav'n descend. Such was thir song,
 While the Creator calling forth by name
 650 His mightie Angels gave them several charge,
 As sorted best with present things. The Sun
 Had first his precept so to move, so shine,
 As might affect the Earth with cold and heat
 Scarce tollerable, and from the North to call
 655 Decrepit Winter, from the South to bring
 Solstitial summers heat. To the blanc Moone
 Her office they prescrib'd, to th' other five
 Thir planetarie motions and aspects
 In *Sextile*, *Square*, and *Trine*, and *Opposite*,

Of

628 yielded] yeilded 632 gorg'd,nigh] No space. 636 hurld,]] The recurrent battered
 comma of 1674. 641 He] Hee Unstressed?

Book X. *Paradise Lost.* 271

- 660 Of noxious efficacie, and when to joyne
 In Synod unbenigne, and taught the fixt
 Thir influence malignant when to showre,
 Which of them rising with the Sun, or falling,
 Should prove tempestuous : To the Winds they set
 665 Thir corners, when with bluster to confound
 Sea, Aire, and Shoar, the Thunder when to rowle
 With terror through the dark Aereal Hall.
 Some say he bid his Angels turne ascans
 The Poles of Earth twice ten degrees and more
 670 From the Suns Axle ; they with labour push'd
 Oblique the Centric Globe : Som say the Sun
 Was bid turn Reines from th' Equinoctial Rode
 Like distant breadth to *Taurus* with the Seav'n
Atlantick Sisters, and the *Spartan Twins*
 675 Up to the *Tropic Crab* ; thence down amaine
 By *Leo* and the *Virgin* and the *Scales*,
 As deep as *Capricorne*, to bring in change
 Of Seasons to each Clime ; else had the Spring
 Perpetual smil'd on Earth with vernant Flours,
 680 Equal in Days and Nights, except to those
 Beyond the Polar Circles ; to them Day
 Had unbrighted shon, while the low Sun
 To recompence his distance, in thir sight
 Had rounded still th' *Horizon*, and not known
 685 Or East or West, which had forbid the Snow
 From cold *Eftoriland*, and South as farr
 Beneath *Magellan*. At that tasted Fruit
 The Sun, as from *Thyestean* Banquet, turn'd
 His course intended ; else how had the World
 690 Inhabited, though sinless, more then now,
 Avoided pinching cold and scorching heate ?
 These changes in the Heav'ns, though slow, produc'd
 Like change on Sea and Land, sederal blast,
 Vapour,

664 tempestuous:] The p is very faint in all copies examined. 680 Days] The D is battered in all copies examined.

272 **Paradise Lost.** Book X.

- Vapour, and Mist, and Exhalation hot,
 695 Corrupt and Pestilent : Now from the North
 Of *Norumbega*, and the *Samoed* shoar
 Bursting thir brazen Dungeon, armd with ice
 And snow and haile and stormie gust and flaw,
 Boreas and *Cacias* and *Argestes* loud
 700 And *Tbrascias* rend the Woods and Seas upturn ;
 With adverse blast up-turns them from the South
 Notus and *Afer* black with thundrous Clouds
 From *Serraliona* ; thwart of these as fierce
 Forth rush the *Levant* and the *Ponent* Windes
 705 *Eurus* and *Zephir* with thir lateral noise,
 Sirocco, and *Libecchio*. Thus began
 Outrage from liveless things ; but Discord first
 Daughter of Sin, among th' irrational,
 Death introduc'd through fierce antipathie :
 710 Beast now with Beast gan war, and Fowle with Fowle,
 And Fish with Fish ; to graze the Herb all leaving,
 Devourd each other ; nor stood much in awe
 Of Man, but fled him, or with count'nance grim
 Glar'd on him passing : these were from without
 715 The growing miseries, which *Adam* saw
 Alreadie in part, though hid in gloomiest shade,
 To sorrow abandond, but worse felt within,
 And in a troubl'd Sea of passion tost,
 Thus to disburd'n sought with sad complaint.
 720 O miserable of happie ! is this the end
 Of this new glorious World, and mee so late
 The Glory of that Glory, who now becom
 Accurst of blessed, hide me from the face
 Of God, whom to behold was then my highth
 725 Of happiness : yet well, if here would end
 The miserie, I deserv'd it, and would beare
 My own deservings ; but this will not serve ;

All

706 *Libecchio*,] *Libecchio*. The 1674 comma may be due to foul case. 710 and] &

Book X. *Paradise Lost.* 273

- All that I eat or drink, or shall beget,
Is propagated curse. O voice once heard
730 Delightfully, *Encrease and multiply,*
Now death to heare ! for what can I encrease
Or multiplie, but curses on my head ?
Who of all Ages to succeed, but feeling
The evil on him brought by me, will curse
735 My Head, Ill fare our Ancestor impure,
For this we may thank *Adam* ; but his thanks
Shall be the execration ; so besides
Mine own that bide upon me, all from mee
Shall with a fierce reflux on mee redound,
740 On mee as on thir natural center light
Heavie, though in thir place. O fleeting joyes
Of Paradise, deare bought with lasting woes !
Did I request thee, Maker, from my Clay
To mould me Man, did I sollicite thee
745 From darkness to promote me, or here place
In this delicious Garden ? as my Will
Concurred not to my being, it were but righ~~e~~
And equal to reduce me to my dust,
Desirous to resigne, and render back
750 All I receav'd, unable to performe
Thy terms too hard, by which I was to hold
The good I sought not. To the loss of that,
Sufficient penaltie, why hast thou added
The sense of endless woes ? inexplicable
755 Thy Justice seems ; yet to say truth, too late,
I thus contest ; then should have been refusd
Those terms whatever, when they were propos'd :
Thou didst accept them ; wilt thou enjoy the good,
Then cavil the conditions ? and though God
760 Made thee without thy leave, what if thy Son
Prove disobedient, and reprov'd, retort,

T

Where-

Running Head. Book] The B is twisted. Loft.] The recurrent round period. 728 eat] eate
734 me,]] Stressed. 746 Will] The W is wrong font.

274 *Paradise Lost.* Book X.

Wherefore didst thou beget me? I sought it not
 Wouldst thou admit for his contempt of thee
 That proud excuse? yet him not thy election,
 765 But Natural necessity begot.
 God made thee of choice his own, and of his own
 To serve him, thy reward was of his grace,
 Thy punishment then justly is at his Will.
 Be it so, for I submit, his doom is fair,
 770 That dust I am, and shall to dust returne:
 O welcom hour whenever! why delayes
 His hand to execute what his Decree
 Fixd on this day? why do I overlive,
 Why am I mockt with death, and length'd out
 775 To deathless pain? how gladly would I meet
 Mortalitie my sentence, and be Earth
 Insensible, how glad would lay me down
 As in my Mothers lap? there I should rest
 And sleep secure; his dreadful voice no more
 780 Would Thunder in my ears, no fear of worse
 To mee and to my offspring would torment me
 With cruel expectation. Yet one doubt
 Pursues me still, least all I cannot die,
 Least that pure breath of Life, the Spirit of Man
 785 Which God inspir'd, cannot together perish
 With this corporeal Clod; then in the Grave,
 Or in some other dismal place who knows
 But I shall die a living Death? O thought
 Horrid, if true! yet why? it was but breath
 790 Of Life that sinn'd; what dies but what had life
 And sin? the Bodie properly hath neither.
 All of me then shall die: let this appease
 The doubt, since humane reach no further knows.
 For though the Lord of all be infinite,
 795 Is his wraught also? be it, man is not so,

But

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent battered period. 762 *not] not:* The heavy stop is needed.
 776 *Mortalitie*] The second t is very faint in all copies examined. 787 *place]* place, The comma
 seems needed. 792 *die:]* Italic colon.

Book X. *Paradise Lost.* 275

But mortal doom'd. How can he exercise
 Wrath without end on Man whom Death must end?
 Can he make deathless Death? that were to make
 Strange contradiction, which to God himself
 800 Impossible is held, as Argument
 Of weakness, not of Power. Will he, draw out,
 For angers sake, finite to infinite
 In punish't man, to satisfie his rigour
 Satisf'd never; that were to extend
 805 His Sentence beyond dust and Natures Law,
 By which all Causes else according still
 To the reception of thir matter act,
 Not to th' extent of thir own Spheare. But say
 That Death be not one stroak, as I suppos'd,
 810 Bereaving sense, but endless miserie
 From this day onward, which I feel begun
 Both in me, and without me, and so last
 To perpetuitie; Ay me, that fear
 Comes thundring back with dreadful revolution
 815 On my defensless head; both Death and I
 Am found Eternal, and incorporate both,
 Nor I on my part single, in mee all
 Posteritie stands curst: Fair Patrimonie
 That I must leave ye, Sons; O were I able
 820 To waste it all my self, and leave ye none!
 So disinherited how would ye bleſſ
 Me now your curse! Ah, why should all mankind
 For one mans fault thus guiltless be condemn'd,
 If guiltless? But from me what can proceed,
 825 But all corrupt, both Mind and Will deprav'd,
 Not to do onely, but to will the same
 With me? how can they then acquitted stand
 In sight of God? Him after all Disputes
 Forc't I absolve: all my evasions vain,

T 2

And

801 he,]] The word is stressed and the comma unwanted. 822 curse!] Italic exclamation point. 824 me] mee The word is stressed. 827 they then acquitted] they acquitted The word then is needed for the meter. 829 vain,] vain

276 *Paradise Lost.* Book X.

- 830 And reasonings, though through Mazes, lead me still
 But to my own conviction : first and last
 On mee, mee onely, as the sourse and spring
 Of all corruption, all the blame lights due;
 So might the wrauth. Fond wish ! couldst thou sup-
 835 That burden heavier then the Earth to bear (port
 Then all the World much heavier, though divided
 With that bad Woman ? Thus what thou desir'st
 And what thou feart, alike destroyes all hope
 Of refuge, and concludes thee miserable
 840 Beyond all past example and future,
 To *Satan* only like both crime and doom.
 O Conscience, into what Abyss of fears
 And horrors hast thou driv'n me ; out of which
 I find no way, from deep to deeper plung'd !
 845 Thus *Adam* to himself lamented loud
 Through the still Night, not now, as ere man fell,
 Wholsom and cool, and mild, but with black Air
 Accompanied, with damps and dreadful gloom,
 Which to his evil Conscience represented
 850 All things with double terror : On the Ground
 Outstretcht he lay, on the cold ground, and oft
 Curs'd his Creation, Death as oft accus'd
 Of tardie execution, since denounc't
 The day of his offence. Why comes not Death,
 855 Said hee, with one thrice acceptable stroke
 To erd me ? Shall Truth fail to keep her word,
 Justice Divine not hast'n to be just ?
 But Death comes not at call, Justice Divine
 Mends not her slowest pace for prayers or cries.
 860 O Woods, O Fountains, Hillocks, Dales and Bowrs,
 With other echo late I taught your Shades
 To answer, and resound farr other Song.
 Whom thus afflicted when sad *Eve* beheld,

Desolate

Running Head. *Lost.*] The broken L see also pages 248, 308, and 324. 831 conviction:] The ct is battered in all copies examined, and was probably a ligature. 832 onely,]] The first syllable is stressed. 835 bear] bear, The comma is needed. 837 desir'st] desir'it, The comma seems to be needed. 841 only] onely 850 Ground] ground 856 end] The right-hand element of the n is completely lacking in all 1674 copies examined. 861-863 In some copies examined the left-hand portions of these three lines are very faint.

Book X. *Paradise Lost.* 277

- 865 Desolate where she fate, approaching nigh,
Soft words to his fierce passion she assay'd :
But her with stern regard he thus repell'd.
Out of my sight, thou Serpent, that name best
Befits thee with him leagu'd, thy self as false
And hateful ; nothing wants, but that thy shape,
870 Like his, and colour Serpentine may shew
Thy inward fraud, to warn all Creatures from thee
Henceforth ; least that too heav'nly form, pretended
To hellish falsehood, snare them. But for thee
I had persisted happie, had not thy pride
875 And wandring vanitie, when left was safe,
Rejected my forewarning, and disdain'd
Not to be trusted, longing to be seen
Though by the Devil himself, him overweening
To over-reach, but with the Serpent meeting
880 Fool'd and beguil'd, by him thou, I by thee,
To trust thee from my side, imagin'd wise,
Constant, mature, proof against all assaults,
And understood not all was but a shew
Rather then solid vertu, all but a Rib
885 Crooked by nature, bent, as now appears,
More to the part sinister from me drawn,
Well if thrown out, as supernumerarie
To my just number found. O why did God,
Creator wise, that peopl'd highest Heav'n
890 With Spirits Masculine, create at last
This noveltie on Earth, this fair defect
Of Nature, and not fill the World at once
With Men as Angels without Feminine,
Or find some other way to generate
895 Mankind ? this mischief had not then befall'n,
And more that shall befall, innumerable
Disturbances on Earth through Femal snares,

T 3

And

865 *she*]] Almost certainly stressed. 872 *form*,]] The comma is faint in all 1674 copies examined. 887 *Well*] The W is wrong font. 888 *just*] The ft ligature is faint in all copies examined. 890 *With*] The W is wrong font. 892 *World*] The W is wrong font. 893 *With*] The W is wrong font. 895 *mischief*] The c barely printed in most copies examined.

278 *Paradise Lost.* Book X.

And straight conjunction with this Sex : for either
 He never shall find out fit Mate, but such
 900 As some misfortune brings him, or mistake,
 Or whom he wishes most shall seldom gain
 Through her perverseness, but shall see her gaine
 By a farr worse, or if she love, withheld
 By Parents, or his happiest choice too late
 905 Shall meet, alreadie linkt and Wedlock-bound
 To a fell Adversarie, his hate or shame :
 Which infinite calamitie shall cause
 To Humane life, and household peace confound.
 He added not, and from her turn'd, but *Eve*
 910 Not so repulst, with Tears that ceas'd not flowing,
 And tresses all disorderd, at his feet
 Fell humble, and embracing them, besought
 His peace, and thus proceeded in her plaint.
 Forsake me not thus, *Adam*, witness Heav'n
 915 What love sincere, and reverence in my heart
 I beare thee, and unweeting have offended,
 Unhappilie deceav'd; thy suppliant
 I beg, and clasp thy knees; bereave me not,
 Whereon I live, thy gentle looks, thy aid,
 920 Thy counsel in this uttermost distress,
 My onely strength and stay : forlorn of thee,
 Whither shall I betake me, where subsist?
 While yet we live, scarce one short hour perhaps,
 Between us two let there be peace, both joyning,
 925 As joyn'd in injuries, one enmitie
 Against a Foe by doom express assign'd us,
 That cruel Serpent : On me exercise not
 Thy hatred for this miserie befall'n,
 On me alreadie lost, mee then thy self
 930 More miserable ; both have sin'd, but thou
 Against God onely, I against God and thee,

And

898 Sex:] The S is out of alignment. 900 misfortune] The i is faint in all copies examined and in some almost failed to print. 902 perversnefs,] perverfenes, 907 Which] The W is wrong font. 915 What] The W is wrong font. sincere,]] The top element of the comma is broken off in all 1674 copies examined. 921 onely]] First syllable stressed. 922 Whither] The W is wrong font. 923 While] The W is wrong font. 927 me]] Almost certainly stressed. The W is wrong font. 929 me]] Stressed. alreadie] already 930 miserable;] The two letters mi are battered in all copies examined.

Book X. *Paradise Lost.* 279

And to the place of judgment will return,
 There with my cries importune Heaven, that all
 The sentence from thy head remov'd may light
 935 On me, sole cause to thee of all this woe,
 Mee mee onely just object of his ire.
 She ended weeping, and her lowlie plight,
 Immoveable till peace obtain'd from fault
 Acknowledg'd and deplor'd, in *Adam* wraught
 940 Commiseration; soon his heart relented
 Towards her, his life so late and sole delight,
 Now at his feet submissive in distress,
 Creature so faire his reconcilement seeking,
 His counsel whom she had displeas'd, his aide;
 945 As one disarm'd, his anger all he lost,
 And thus with peaceful words uprais'd her soon.
 Unwarie, and too desirous, as before,
 So now of what thou knowst not, who desir'st
 The punishment all on thy self; alas,
 950 Beare thine own first, ill able to sustaine
 His full wrauth whose thou feelst as yet least part,
 And my displeasure bearst so ill. If Prayers
 Could alter high Decrees, I to that place
 Would speed before thee, and be louder heard,
 955 That on my head all might be visited,
 Thy frailtie and infirmer Sex forgiv'n,
 To me committed and by me expos'd.
 But rise, let us no more contend, nor blame
 Each other, blam'd enough elsewhere, but strive
 960 In offices of Love, how we may light'n
 Each others burden in our share of woe;
 Since this days Death denounc't, if ought I see,
 Will prove no sudden, but a slow-pac't evill,
 Along days dying to augment our paine,
 965 And to our Seed (O hapless Seed!) deriv'd.

T 4

To

932 judgment] judgement 934 light] The t is broken or barely printed in all copies examined.
 935 me,]] Stressed. 936 onely]] First syllable stressed. 951 part,] The t is broken and
 barely printed in all copies examined. 957 me . . . me]] Both stressed. 959 strive] The
 e barely printed.

280 *Paradise Lost.* Book X.

- To whom thus *Eve*, recovering heart, repli'd.
Adam, by sad experiment I know
How little weight my words with thee can finde,
Found so erroneous, thence by just event
970 Found so unfortunate ; nevertheless,
Restor'd by thee, vile as I am, to place
Of new acceptance, hopeful to regaine
Thy Love, the sole contentment of my heart
Living or dying, from thee I will not hide
975 What thoughts in my unquiet brest are ris'n,
Tending to some relief of our extremes,
Or end, though sharp and sad, yet tolerable,
As in our evils, and of easier choice.
If care of our descent perplex us most,
980 Which must be born to certain woe, devour'd
By Death at last, and miserable it is
To be to others cause of misery,
Our own begotten, and of our Loines to bring
Into this cursed World a woful Race,
985 That after wretched Life must be at last
Food for so foule a Monster, in thy power
It lies, yet ere Conception to prevent
The Race unblest, to being yet unbegot.
Childless thou art, Childless remaine :
990 So Death shall be deceav'd his glut, and with us two
Be forc'd to satisfie his Rav'ous Maw.
But if thou judge it hard and difficult,
Conversing, looking, loving, to abstain
From Loves due Rites, Nuprial imbraces sweet,
995 And with desire to languish without hope,
Before the present object languishing
With like desire, which would be meserie
And torment less then none of what we dread,

Then

968 words] Words\words 973 heart] heart, The comma seems to be needed.

974 dying,] dying The comma seems to be needed. 976 fome] som

982 mifery,] mifery.\mifery, 989-990 There can be little doubt that these two lines were garbled by the printer, as first pointed out by P. H. in his *Annotations on Milton's Paradise Lost*, London, 1695, page 287. He suggested that the first two words in line 990 be placed at the end of line 989, and the emendation must be accepted, or line 989 as printed is deficient by two syllables, and line 990 has twelve syllables as printed. 994 imbraces] embraces 997 meserie] miserie Catchword. Then] As on pages 112, 128, 136, and 300 this page carries only thirty-three lines of text and the catchword is two line spaces below the bottom line of the text.

Book X. *Paradise Lost.* 281

- Then both our selves and Seed at once to free
 1000 From what we fear for both, let us make short,
 Let us seek Death, or he not found, supply
 With our own hands his Office on our selves ;
 Why stand we longer shivering under feares,
 That shew no end but Death, and have the power,
 1005 Of many ways to die the shortest choosing,
 Destruction with destruction to destroy.
 She ended heer, or vehement despaire
 Broke off the rest ; so much of Death her thoughts
 Had entertaind, as di'd her Cheeks with pale.
 1010 But *Adam* with such counsel nothing sway'd,
 To better hopes his more attentive minde
 Labouring had rais'd, and thus to *Eve* repli'd.
Eve, thy contempt of life and pleasure seems
 To argue in thee somthing more sublime
 1015 And excellent then what thy minde contemnes ;
 But self-destruction therefore saught, refutes
 That excellency thought in thee, and implies,
 Not thy contempt, but anguish and regret
 For loss of life and pleasure overlov'd.
 1020 Or if thou covet death, as utmost end
 Of miserie, so thinking to evade
 The penaltie pronounc't, doubt not but God
 Hath wiselier arm'd his vengeful ire then so
 To be forestall'd ; much more I fear least Death
 1025 So snacht will not exempt us from the paine
 We are by doom to pay ; rather such acts
 Of contumacie will provoke the highest
 To make death in us live : Then let us seek
 Some safer resolution, which methinks
 1030 I have in view, calling to minde with heed
 Part of our Sentence, that thy Seed shall bruise
 The Serpents head ; piteous amends, unless

B:

1001 *he]* he Stressed. 1005 *ways]* wayes 1029 *Some]* Som Catchword. *Be]* The e is lacking in copy 19; both B and e are out of alignment in several other copies such as 11, 13, etc., and print correctly in 6, 15, and others.

282 *Paradise Lost.* Book X.

Be meant, whom I conjecture, our grand Foe
Satan, who in the Serpent hath contriv'd
1035 Against us this deceit : to crush his head
Would be revenge indeed ; which will be lost
By death brought on our selves, or childless days
Resolv'd, as thou proposest ; so our Foe
Shall scape his punishment ordain'd, and wee
1040 Instead shall double ours upon our heads.
No more be mention'd then of violence
Against our selves, and wilful barrenness,
That cuts us off from hope, and savours onely
Rancor and pride, impatience and despite,
1045 Reluctance against God and his just yoke
Laid on our Necks. Remember with what mild
And gracious temper he both heard and judg'd
Without wrauth or reviling ; wee expected
Immediate dissolution, which we thought
1050 Was meant by Death that day, when lo, to thee
Pains onely in Child-bearing were foretold,
And bringing forth, soon recompenc't with joy,
Fruit of thy Womb : On mee the Curse aslope
Glanc'd on the ground, with labour I must earne
1055 My bread ; what harm? Idleness had bin worse ;
My labour will sustain me ; and least Cold
Or Heat should injure us, his timely care
Hath unbesought provided, and his hands
Cloath'd us unworthie, pitying while he judg'd ;
1060 How much more, if we pray him, will his ear
Be open, and his heart to pitie incline,
And teach us further by what means to shun
Th' inclement Seasons, Rain, Ice, Hail and Snow,
Which now the Skie with various Face begins
1065 To shew us in this Mountain, while the Winds
Blow moist and keen, shattering the graceful locks

Of

Running Head. Loft.] The recurrent round period.

Book X. *Paradise Lost.* 283

- Of these fair spreading Trees; which bids us seek
 Som better shroud, som better warmth to cherish
 Our Limbs benumm'd, ere this diurnal Starr
 1070 Leave cold the Night, how we his gather'd beams
 Reflected, may with matter sere foment,
 Or by collision of two bodies grinde
 The Air attrite to Fire, as late the Clouds
 Justling or pusht with Winds rude in thir shock
 1075 Tine the slant Lightning, whose thwart flame driv'n
 Kindles the gummie bark of Firr or Pine, (down
 And sends a comfortable heat from farr,
 Which might supplie the Sun: such Fire to use,
 And what may else be remedie or cure
 1080 To evils which our own misdeeds have wrought,
 Hee will instruct us praying, and of Grace
 Beseeching him, so as we need not fear
 To pass commodiously this life, sustain'd
 By him with many comforts, till we end
 1085 In dust, our final rest and native home.
 What better can we do, then to the place
 Repairing where he judg'd us, prostrate fall
 Before him reverent, and there confess
 Humbly our faults, and pardon beg, with tears
 1090 Watering the ground, and with our sighs the Air
 Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
 Of sorrow unfeign'd, and humiliation meek.
 Undoubtedly he will relent and turn
 From his displeasure; in whose look serene,
 1095 When angry most he seem'd and most severe,
 What else but favor, grace, and mercie shon?
 So spake our Father penitent, nor *Eve*
 Felt less remorse: they forthwith to the place
 Repairing where he judg'd them prostrate fell
 1100 Before him reverent, and both confess'd

Humbly

Running Head. *Paradise*] The dot over the i barely printed in any copy examined. *Lost.*] The recurrent battered period. 1070 *we]]* Stressed. 1078 *supplie]* supply\supplie 1093 *he]]* Stressed?

284 **Paradise Lost.** Book X.

Humbly thir faults, and pardon beg'd, with tears
Watering the ground, and with thir sighs the Air
Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
Of sorrow unfeign'd, and humiliation meek.

The End of the Tenth Book.

Paradise

The End of the Tenth Book.] The End of the Ninth Book. Catchword. Paradise] PARA-

285

Paradise Lost.

BOOK XI.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Son of God presents to his Father the Prayers of
our first Parents now repenting, and intercedes for
them: God accepts them, but declares that they must
no longer abide in Paradise; sends Michael with a
5 Band of Cherubim to dispossess them; but first to
reveal to Adam future things: Michaels coming
down. Adam shews to Eve certain ominous signs; he
discerns Michaels approach, goes out to meet him:
the Angel denounces thir departure. Eve's Lamenta-
tion. Adam pleads, but submits: The Angel leads
10 him up to a high Hill, sets before him in vision what
shall happ'n till the Flood.

THus they in lowliest pligt repentant stood
Praying, for from the Mercie-seat above
Prevenient Grace descending had renov'd
The stonie from thir hearts, & made new flesh
5 Regenerate grow instead, that sighs now breath'd
Unutter-

Title. **Paradise Lost.] PARADISE/ LOST.** The rules are composite, not solid.

THE ARGUMENT. The Argument of 1674 Book 11 is about the first half of the Argument of 1667 Book 10, and the collation here is 1674, 1668, and 1669. 1 *The*] *THe]] Son]] Son*
Prayers]] prayers 3 *but]] and* 5 *Cherubim]] Cherubims* 6 *things:]] things:*
7 *signs;]] signs,* 8 *him:] him:* 9 *Eve's] Eve's] Eve's* 12 *happ'n]] happen*
Flood.] Flood;]]

THE TEXT. The Text of 1674 Book 11 is made up of lines 1-897 of 1667 Book 10, with 1674 lines 485-487 and parts of an extra line at 1667 551-552 added. 4 *hearts,&]* *hearts, and*
5 *Regenerate]* *Regenerat*

286 *Paradise Lost.* Book XI.

Unutterable, which the Spirit of prayer
 Inspir'd, and wing'd for Heav'n with speedier flight
 Then loudest Oratorie : yet thir port
 Not of mean suiters, nor important less
 10 Seem'd thir Petition, then when th' ancient Pair
 In Fables old, less ancient yet then these,
 Deucalion and chaste *Pyrrha* to restore
 The Race of Mankind drownd, before the Shrine
 Of *Themis* stood devout. To Heav'n thir prayers
 15 Flew up, nor missd the way, by envious windes
 Blow'n vagabond or frustrate : in they pasd
 Dimentionless through Heav'nly dores ; then clad
 With incense, where the Golden Altar fum'd,
 By thir great Intercessor, came in sight
 20 Before the Fathers Throne : Them the glad Son
 Presenting, thus to intercede began.
 See Father, what first fruits on Earth are sprung
 From thy implanted Grace in Man, these Sighs
 And Prayers, which in this Golden Censer, mixt
 25 With Incense, I thy Priest before thee bring,
 Fruits of more pleasing favour from thy seed
 Sow'n with contrition in his heart, then those
 Which his own hand manuring all the Trees
 Of Paradise could have produc't, ere fall'n
 30 From innocence. Now therefore bend thine eare
 To supplication, heare his sighs though mute ;
 Unskilful with what words to pray, let mee
 Interpret for him, mee his Advocate
 And propitiation, all his works on mee
 35 Good or not good ingraft, my Merit those
 Shall perfet, and for these my Death shall pay.
 Accept me, and in mee from these receave
 The smell of peace toward Mankinde, let him live
 Before thee reconcil'd, at least his days

Num-

19 thir]] Is this word stressed or unstressed? 32 pray, let mee] pray let me,\pray,let mee
 37 me,]] Stressed?

Book XI. *Paradise Lost.* 287

- 40 Numberd, though sad, till Death, his doom (which I
 To mitigate thus plead, not to reverse)
 To better life shall yeeld him, where with mee
 All my redeemd may dwell in joy and bliss,
 Made one with me as I with thee am one.
- 45 To whom the Father, without Cloud, serene.
 All thy request for Man, accepted Son,
 Obtain, all thy request was my Decree :
 But longer in that Paradise to dwell,
 The Law I gave to Nature him forbids :
- 50 Those pure immortal Elements that know
 No gross, no unharmonious mixture foule,
 Eject him tainted now, and purge him off
 As a distemper, gross to aire as gross,
 And mortal food, as may dispose him best
- 55 For dissolution wrought by Sin, that first
 Distemperd all things, and of incorrupt
 Corrupted. I at first with two fair gifts
 Created him endowd, with Happiness
 And Immortalitie : that fondly lost,
- 60 This other serv'd but to eternize woe ;
 Till I provided Death ; so Death becomes
 His final remedie, and after Life
 Tri'd in sharp tribulation, and refin'd
 By Faith and faithful works, to second Life,
- 65 Wak't in the renovation of the just,
 Resignes him up with Heav'n and Earth renewd.
 But let us call to Synod all the Blest
 Through Heav'n's wide bounds ; from them I will not
 My judgments, how with Mankind I proceed, (hide
- 70 As how with peccant Angels late they saw ;
 And in thir state, though firm, stood more confirm'd.
 He ended, and the Son gave signal high
 To the bright Minister that watchd, hee blew

His

44 me]] Stressed. 67 Blest] The e is faint in most 1674 copies examined.

288 *Paradise Lost.* Book XI.

- His Trumpet, heard in *Oreb* since perhaps
 75 When God descended, and perhaps once more
 To sound at general Doom. Th' Angelic blast
 Fill'd all the Regions: from thir blissful Bowrs
 Of *Amarantin* Shade, Fountain or Spring,
 By the waters of Life, where ere they late
 80 In fellowships of joy: the Sons of Light
 Hasted, resorting to the Summons high,
 And took thir Seats; till from his Throne supream
 Th' Almighty thus pronouncd his sovran Will.
 O Sons, like one of us Man is become
 85 To know both Good and Evil, since his taste
 Of that defended Fruit; but let him boast
 His knowledge of Good lost, and Evil got,
 Happier, had it suffic'd him to have known
 Good by it self, and Evil not at all.
 90 He sorrows now, repents, and prayes contrite,
 My motions in him, longer then they move,
 His heart I know, how variable and vain
 Self-left. Least therefore his now bolder hand
 Reach also of the Tree of Life, and eat,
 95 And live for ever, dream at least to live
 For ever, to remove him I decree,
 And send him from the Garden forth to Till
 The Ground whence he was taken, fitter soile.
 Michael, this my behest have thou in charge,
 100 Take to thee from among the Cherubim
 Thy choice of flaming Warriours, least the Fiend
 Or in behalf of Man, or to invade
 Vacant possession som new trouble raise:
 Hast thee, and from the Paradise of God
 105 Without remorse drive out the sinful Pair,
 From hallowd ground th' unholie, and denounce
 To them and to thir Progenie from thence

Per-

Page Number. 288] The two 8's are from different fonts. Running Head. *Lost.*] The broken

L see also pages 252, 317, and 333. 76 Doom.] doom.\Doom.

83 pronounced] pronounc'd\pronounced 101 Warriours,] warriours,\Warriours,

103 posseffion] A comma seems to be needed after this word, and copy 19 supplies one with a pen.

Book XI. *Paradise Lost.* 289

Perpetual banishment. Yet least they faint
 At the sad Sentence rigorously urg'd,
 110 For I behold them softn'd and with tears
 Bewailing thir excess, all terror hide.
 If patiently thy bidding they obey,
 Dismiss them not disconsolate; reveale
 To *Adam* what shall come in future dayes,
 115 As I shall thee enlighten, intermix
 My Cov'nant in the womans seed renewd;
 So send them forth, though sorrowing, yet in peace:
 And on the East side of the Garden place,
 Where entrance up from *Eden* easiest爬bes,
 120 Cherubic watch, and of a Sword the flame
 Wide waving, all approach farr off to fright,
 And guard all passage to the Tree of Life:
 Least Paradise a receptacle prove
 To Spirits foule, and all my Trees thir prey,
 125 With whose stol'n Fruit Man once more to delude.
 He ceas'd; and th' Archangelic Power prepar'd
 For swift descent, with him the Cohort bright
 Of watchful Cherubim; four faces each
 Had, like a double *Janus*, all thir shape
 130 Spangl'd with eyes more numerous then those
 Of *Argus*, and more wakeful then to drouze,
 Charm'd with *Arcadian* Pipe, the Pastoral Reed
 Of *Hermes*, or his opiate Rod. Mean while
 To resalute the World with sacred Light
 135 *Leucorhea* wak'd, and with fresh dews imbalm'd
 The Earth, when *Adam* and first Matron *Eve*
 Had ended now thir Orisons, and found
 Strength added from above, new hope to spring
 Out of despaire, joy, but with fear yet linkt;
 140 Which thus to *Eve* his welcome words renewd.
Eve, easily may Faith admit, that all

U

The

110 softn'd] soft'nd 116 womans] Womans 137 found] found, The comma seems to be
 unwanted. 139 linkt;] linkt,\linkt;

290 *Paradise Lost.* Book XI.

The good which we enjoy, from Heav'n descends ;
 But that from us ought should ascend to Heav'n
 So prevalent as to concerne the mind
 Of God high-blest, or to incline his will,
 Hard to belief may seem ; yet this will Prayer,
 Or one short sigh of humane breath, up-borne
 Ev'n to the Seat of God. For since I saught
 By Prayer th' offended Deitie to appease,
 Kneel'd and before him humbl'd all my heart,
 Methought I saw him placable and mild,
 Bending his eare ; perswasion in me grew
 That I was heard with favour ; peace returnd
 Home to my Brest, and to my memorie
 His promise, that thy Seed shall bruise our Foe ;
 Which then not minded in dismay, yet now
 Assures me that the bitterness of death
 Is past, and we shall live. Whence Haile to thee,
Eve rightly call'd, Mother of all Mankind,
 Mother of all things living, since by thee
 Man is to live, and all things live for Man.
 To whom thus *Eve* with sad demeanour meek.
 Ill worthie I such title should belong
 To me transgressour, who for thee ordaind
 A help, became thy snare ; to mee reproach
 Rather belongs, distrust and all dispraise :
 But infinite in pardon was my Judge,
 That I who first brought Death on all, am grac't
 The sourse of life ; next favourable thou,
 Who highly thus to entitle me voutsaf'st,
 Farr other name deserving. But the Field
 To labour calls us now with sweat impos'd,
 Though after sleepless Night ; for see the Morn,
 All unconcern'd with our unrest, begins
 Her rosie progress smiling ; let us forth,

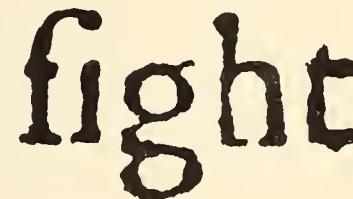
I

¹⁴² descends;] descends Some punctuation seems to be needed. ¹⁴³ But] The t is very faint in all copies examined. ¹⁵⁴ Brest,] brest, ¹⁵⁸ we]] Almost certainly stressed. ¹⁶⁴ me]] Stressed. ¹⁶⁶ dispraise:] Italic colon. ¹⁷⁰ Who] The W is wrong font.

Book XI. *Paradise Lost.* 291

- I never from thy side henceforth to stray,
 Wherere our days work lies, though now enjoind
 Laborious, till day droop; while here we dwell,
 What can be toilsom in these pleasant Walkes?
- 180 Here let us live, though in fall'n state, content.
 So spake, so wish'd much-humbl'd *Eve*, but Fate
 Subscrib'd not; Nature first gave Signs, imprest
 On Bird, Beast, Aire, Aire suddenly eclips'd
 After short blush of Morn; nigh in her sight
 185 The Bird of *Jove*, stoopt from his aerie tour,
 Two Birds of gayest plume before him drove:
 Down from a Hill the Beast that reigns in Woods,
 First hunter then, pursu'd a gentle brace,
 Goodliest of all the Forrest, Hart and Hinde;
 190 Direct to th' Eastern Gate was bent thir flight.
Adam observ'd, and with his Eye the chase
 Pursuing, not unmov'd to *Eve* thus spake.
 O *Eve*, some furder change awaits us nigh,
 Which Heav'n by these mute signs in Nature shews
 195 Forerunners of his purpose, or to warn
 Us haply too secure of our discharge
 From penaltie, because from death releast
 Some days; how long, and what till then our life,
 Who knows, or more then this, that we are dust,
 200 And thither must return and be no more.
 Why else this double object in our sight
 Of flight pursu'd in th' Air and ore the ground
 One way the self-same hour? why in the East
 Darkness ere Dayes mid-course, and Morning light
 205 More orient in yon Western Cloud that draws
 O're the bleu Firmament a radiant white,
 And slow descends, with somthing heav'nly fraught.
 He err'd not, for by this the heav'nly Bands
 Down from a Skie of Jasper lighted now

(LINE 201)



U 2

In

188 *hunter*] Hunter 201 *fight*] All 1674 copies examined show the first letter of this word as a worn *f* instead of the '*f*' obviously needed, and almost certainly intended. So far as I know, no editor ever questioned the '*f*' that so obviously belongs here. The error no doubt arose from foul case, and went unsuspected. But the attached magnification clearly shows the crossbar of the *f* although certainly the word should read 'fight' and not as it appears.

292 *Paradise Lost.* Book XI.

- 210 In Paradise, and on a Hill made alt,
 A glorious Apparition, had not doubt
 And carnal fear that day dimm'd *Adams* eye.
 Not that more glorious, when the Angels met
Jacob in *Mahanaim*, where he saw
- 215 The field Pavilion'd with his Guardians bright ;
 Nor that which on the flaming Mount appeerd
 In *Dorhan*, cover'd with a Camp of Fire,
 Against the *Syrian* King, who to surprize
 One man, *Affassin*-like had levied Warr,
- 220 Warr unproclam'd. The Princely Hierarch
 In thir bright stand, there left his Powers to seise
 Possession of the Garden ; hee alone,
 To find where *Adam* shelterd, took his way,
 Not unperceav'd of *Adam*, who to *Eve*,
- 225 While the great Visitant approachd, thus spake.
Eve, now expect great tidings, which perhaps
 Of us will soon determin, or impose
 New Laws to be observ'd ; for I descrie
 From yonder blazing Cloud that veils the Hill
- 230 One of the heav'ly Host, and by his Gate
 None of the meanest, some great Potentate
 Or of the Thrones above, such Majestic
 Invests him coming ? yet not terrible,
 That I should fear, nor sociably mild,
- 235 As *Raphael*, that I should much confide,
 But solemn and sublime, whom not to offend,
 With reverence I must meet, and thou retire.
 He erded ; and th' Arch-Angel soon drew nigh,
 Not in his shape Celestial, but as Man
- 240 Clad to meet Man ; over his lucid Armes
 A militarie Vest of purple flowd
 Livelier then *Melibæan*, or the graine
 Of *Sarra*, worn by Kings and Hero's old

In

Running Head. Book XI.] 1674 copies 5 and 20 have a space work-up between k and X
 215-219 There is a break in type alignment at the extreme right of these five lines. 216 *N* or]
 So spaced in all copies examined. 223 *find*] finde 231 *the*] The t is worn in all copies examined.
 233 *coming?*] coming; Probably the 1674 question mark is the result of foul case. 237 *With*]
 The W is wrong font.

Book XI. *Paradise Lost.* 293

- 245 In time of Truce; *Iris* had dipt the wooff;
 His starrie Helme unbuckl'd shew'd him prime
 In Manhood where Youth ended; by his side
 As in a glistering *Zodiac* hung the Sword,
 Satans dire dread, and in his hand the Spear.
Adam bowd low, hee Kingly from his State.
 250 Inclin'd not, but his coming thus declar'd.
Adam, Heav'n high behest no Preface needs:
 Sufficient that thy Prayers are heard, and Death,
 Then due by sentence when thou didst transgress,
 Defeated of his seizure many dayes
 255 Giv'n thee of Grace, wherein thou may'st repent,
 And one bad act with many deeds well done
 Mayst cover: well may then thy Lord appeas'd
 Redeem thee quite from Deaths rapacious claime;
 But longer in this Paradise to dwell
 260 Permits not; to remove thee I am come,
 And send thee from the Garden forth to till
 The ground whence thou wast tak'n, fitter Soile.
 He added not, for *Adam* at the newes
 Heart-strook with chilling gripe of sorrow stood,
 265 That all his senses bound; *Eve*, who unseen
 Yet all had heard, with audible lament
 Discover'd soon the place of her retire.
 O unexpected stroke, worse then of Death!
 Must I thus leave thee Paradise? thus leave
 270 Thee Native Soile, these happie Walks and Shades,
 Fit haunt of Gods? where I had hope to spend,
 Quiet though sad, the respit of that day
 That must be mortal to us both. O flours,
 That never will in other Climate grow,
 275 My early visitation, and my last
 At Eev'n, which I bred up with tender hand
 From the first op'ning bud, and gave ye Namis,

U 3

Who

294 *Paradise Lost.* Book XI.

- Who now shall reare ye to the Sun, or ranke
 Your Tribes, and water from th' ambrosial Fount ?
- 280 Thee lastly nuptial Bowre, by mee adornd
 With what to sight or smell was sweet ; from thee
 How shall I part, and whither wander down
 Into a lower World, to this obscure
 And wilde, how shall we breath in other Aire
 285 Less pure, accustomd to immortal Fruits ?
 Whom thus the Angel interrupted milde.
 Lament not *Eve*, but patiently resigne
 What justly thou hast lost ; nor set thy heart,
 Thus over-fond, on that which is not thine ;
- 290 Thy going is not lonely, with thee goes
 Thy Husband, him to follow thou art bound ;
 Where he abides, think there thy native soile.
 Adam by this from the cold sudden damp
 Recovering, and his scatterd spirits returnd,
 295 To *Michael* thus his humble words addressd.
 Celestial, whether among the Thrones, or nam'd
 Of them the Highest, for such of shape may seem
 Prince above Princes, gently hast thou tould
 Thy message, which might else in telling wound,
 300 And in performing end us ; what besides
 Of sorrow and dejection and despair
 Our frailtie can sustain, thy tidings bring,
 Departure from this happy place, our sweet
 Recess, and onely consolation left
- 305 Familiar to our eyes, all places else
 Inhosptitable appeer and desolate,
 Nor knowing us nor known : and if by prayer
 Incessant I could hope to change the will
 Of him who all things can, I would not cease
 310 To wearie him with my assiduous cries :
 But prayer against his absolute Decree

No

Running Head. *Loft.*] The recurrent round period. 289 over-fond,] over fond, 292 he]] Stressed. 302 tidings] The d is battered in all 1674 copies examined. 310 cries:] Italic colon.

Book XI. *Paradise Lost.* 295

No more availes then breath against the winde,
Blown stifling back on him that breaths it forth :
Therefore to his great bidding I submit.

- 315 This most afflicts me, that departing hence,
As from his face I shall be hid, deprivd
His blessed count'nce ; here I could frequent,
With worship, place by place where he voursaf'd
Presence Divine, and to my Sons relate ;
- 320 On this Mount he appeerd, under this Tree
Stood visible, among these Pines his voice
I heard, here with him at this Fountain talk'd :
So many grateful Altars I would reare
Of grassie Terfe, and pile up every Stone
- 325 Of lustre from the brook, in memorie,
Or monument to Ages, and thereon
Offer sweet smelling Gumms and Fruits and Flours :
In yonder nether World where shall I seek
His bright appearances, or foot step-trace ?
- 330 For though I fled him angrie, yet recall'd
To life prolongd and promisd Race, I now
Gladly behold though but his utmost skirts
Of glory, and farr off his steps adore.
To whom thus *Michael* with regard benigne.
- 335 *Adam*, thou know'st Heav'n his, and all the Earth.
Not this Rock onely ; his Omnipresence fills
Land, Sea, and Aire, and every kinde that lives,
Fomented by his virtual power and warmd :
All th' Earth he gave thee to possess and rule,
- 340 No despicable gift ; surmise not then
His presence to these narrow bounds confin'd
Of Paradise or *Eden* : this had been
Perhaps thy Capital Seate, from whence had spred
All generations, and had hither come
- 345 From all the ends of th' Earth, to celebrate

U 4 And

Running Head. *Paradise*] The first a is battered in all copies examined. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. Page Number. 295] The 5 is broken in all copies examined. 313 forth:] Italic colon. 318 he]] Stressed? 327 First and] & 328 World] The W is wrong font. 329 foot step-trace?] footstep trace? Doubtless the effort was made to put a hyphen between foot and step but it was misplaced. 334 To] The T is italic. 335 Earth.] Earth, The 1674 period is probably the result of foul case; but see also my note, volume 2:595. 336 Omnipresence] The O is wrong font.

296 *Paradise Lost.* Book XI.

And reverence thee thir great Progenitor.
 But this præminence thou hast lost, brought down
 To dwell on eeven ground now with thy Sons :
 Yet doubt not but in Vallie and in plaine
 350 God is as here, and will be found alike
 Present, and of his presence many a signe
 Still following thee, still compassing thee round
 With goodness and paternal Love, his Face
 Express, and of his steps the track Divine.
 355 Which that thou mayst beleeve, and be confirm'd
 Ere thou from hence depart, know I am sent
 To shew thee what shall come in future dayes
 To thee and to thy Ofspring ; good with bad
 Expect to hear, supernal Grace contending
 360 With sinfulness of Men ; thereby to learn
 True patience, and to temper joy with fear
 And pious sorrow, equally enur'd
 By moderation either state to beare,
 Prosperous or adverse : so shalt thou lead
 365 Safest thy life, and best prepar'd endure
 Thy mortal passage when it comes. Ascend
 This Hill ; let *Eve* (for I have drencht her eyes)
 Here sleep below while thou to foresight wak'st,
 As once thou slep'st, while Shee to life was form'd.
 370 To whom thus *Adam* gratefully repli'd.
 Ascend, I follow thee, safe Guide, the path
 Thou lead'st me, and to the hand of Heav'n submit,
 However chast'ning, to the evil turne
 My obvious breast, arming to overcom
 375 By suffering, and earne rest from labour won,
 If so I may attain. So both ascend
 In the Visions of God : It was a Hill
 Of Paradise the highest, from whose top
 The Hemisphere of Earth in clearest Ken

Stretcht

349 Vallie] The V is wrong font. plaine] Plaine 352 compassing]] The Columbia note is wrong. The second f is broken, but unmistakable. The ff is a ligature with the top of the second f broken off. For the form of the ligature, see Book 11:299 message, and elsewhere.
 355 confirm'd] confirm'd, 367 (for] The parenthesis is battered in all copies examined.
 369 form'd.] The recurrent hollow period.

Book XI. *Paradise Lost.* 297

- 380 Stretcht out to the amplest reach of prospect lay.
 Not higher that Hill nor wider looking round,
 Whereon for different cause the Tempter set
 Our second *Adam* in the Wilderness,
 To shew him all Earths Kingdome and thir Glory.
- 385 His Eye might there command wherever stood
 City of old or modern Fame, the Seat
 Of mightiest Empire, from the destind Walls
 Of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can
 And Samarchand by Oxis, Temirs Throne,
- 390 To Paquin of Sinean Kings, and thence
 To Agra and Labor of great Mogul
 Down to the golden Chersonese, or where
 The Persian in Ecbatan late, or since
 In Hispahan, or where the Russian Ksar
- 395 In Mosco, or the Sultan in Bizance,
 Turkestan-born; nor could his eye not ken
 Th' Empire of Negus to his utmost Port
 Ercoco and the less Maritim Kings
 Mombaza, and Quiloa, and Melind,
- 400 And Sofala thought Opbir, to the Realme
 Of Congo, and Angola fardest South;
 Or thence from Niger Flood to Atlas Mount
 The Kingdoms of Almansor, Fez and Sus,
 Marocco and Algiers, and Tremisen;
- 405 On Europe thence, and where Rome was to sway
 The World: in Spirit perhaps he also saw
 Rich Mexico the seat of Motezume,
 And Cusco in Peru, the richer seat
 Of Atabalipa, and yet unspoil'd
- 410 Guiana, whose great Citie Geryons Sons
 Call El Dorado: but to nobler sights
 Michael from Adams eyes the Filme remov'd
 Which that false Fruit that promis'd clearer sight

Had

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent battered period. 380 to the amplest reach] to amplest reach
 It is difficult to account for this insertion, unless it was an accident. Milton may have wanted
 'th' amplest' but the meter scarcely needs another syllable. 394 *Hispahan,*] *Hispahan*, Short
sp ligature in 1674 and long *sp* ligature in 1667. 398 *Maritim*] Maritime

298 *Paradise Lost.* Book XI.

- Had bred ; then purg'd with Euphrasie and Rue
 415 The visual Nerve, for he had much to see ;
 And from the Well of Life three drops instill'd.
 So deep the power of these Ingredients pierc'd,
 Eevn to the inmost seat of mental sight,
 That *Adam* now enforc't to close his eyes,
 420 Sunk down and all his Spirits became intransit :
 But him the gentle Angel by the hand
 Soon rais'd, and his attention thus recall'd.
- Adam*, now ope thine eyes, and first behold
 Th' effects which thy original crime hath wrought
 425 In some to spring from thee, who never touch'd
 Th' excepted Tree, nor with the Snake conspir'd,
 Nor sinn'd thy sin, yet from that derive
 Corruption to bring forth more violent deeds.
- His eyes he op'nd, and beheld a field,
 430 Part arable and tilth, whereon were Sheaves
 New reapt, the other part sheep-walks and foulds ;
 Ith' midst an Altar as the Land-mark stood
 Rustic, of grassie ford ; thither anon
 A sweatie Reaper from his Tillage brought
 435 First Fruits, the green Eare, and the yellow Sheaf,
 Uncull'd, as came to hand ; a Shepherd next
 More meek came with the Firstlings of his Flock
 Choicest and best ; then sacrificing, laid
 The Inwards and thir Fat, with Incense strew'd,
 440 On the cleft Wood, and all due Rites perform'd.
 His Offring soon propitious Fire from Heav'n
 Consum'd with nimble glance, and grateful steame ;
 The others not, for his was not sincere ;
 Whereat hee inlie rag'd, and as they talk'd,
 445 Smote him into the Midriff with a stone
 That beat out life ; he fell, and deadly pale
 Groand out his Soul with gushing bloud effus'd.

Much

Running Head. *Lost.*] The broken L of pages 249, 268, and 330. 427 that derive] that fin derive
 The word 'fin' is needed for the meter. 440 perform'd.] The period is too high in all copies
 examined. 442 steame;] The semicolon is very faint in most copies examined.

Book XI. *Paradise Lost.* 299

Much at that sight was *Adam* in his heart
 Dismai'd, and thus in haste to th' Angel cri'd.
 450 O Teacher, some great mischief hath befall'n
 To that meek man, who well had sacrific'd ;
 Is Pietie thus and pure Devotion paid ?
 T' whom *Michael* thus, hee also mov'd, repli'd.
 These two are Brethren, *Adam*, and to come
 455 Out of thy loyns; th' unjust the just hath slain,
 For envie that his Brothers Offering found
 From Heav'n acceptance; but the bloodie Fact
 Will be aveng'd, and th' others Faith approv'd
 Loose no reward, though here thou see him die,
 460 Rowling in dust and gore. To which our Sire.
 Alas, both for the deed and for the cause !
 But have I now seen Death ? Is this the way
 I must return to native dust ? O sight
 Of terrour, foul and ugly to behold,
 465 Horrid to think, how horrible to feel !
 To whom thus *Michael*. Death thou hast seen
 In his first shape on man; but many shapes
 Of Death, and many are the wayes that lead
 To his grim Cave, all dismal; yet to sense
 470 More terrible at th' entrance then within.
 Some, as thou saw'st, by violent stroke shall die,
 By Fire, Flood, Famin, by Intemperance more
 In Meats and Drinks, which on the Earth shall bring
 Diseases dire, of which a monstrous crew
 475 Before thee shall appear; that thou mayst know
 What miserie th' inabstinence of *Eve*
 Shall bring on men. Immediately a place
 Before his eyes appeard, sad, nysom, dark,
 A Lazar-house it seemd, wherein were laid
 480 Numbers of all diseas'd, ail maladies
 Of gaitly Spasm, or racking torture, qualmes

Of

457 Heav'n] The recurrent worn apostrophe. 458 aveng'd,] Again, the worn apostrophe.
 473 Drinks,]] The comma is very faint in many 1674 copies, but certainly was set and printed
 faintly in many copies. shall] shal

300 *Paradise Lost.* Book XI.

Of heart-sick Agonie, all feavorous kinds,
 Convulsions, Epilepsies, fierce Catarrhs,
 Intestin Stone and Ulcer, Colic pangs,
 485 Dæmoniac Phrenzie, moaping Melancholie
 And Moon-struck madness, pining Atrophic,
 Marasmus, and wide-wasting Pestilence,
 Dropsies, and Asthma's, and Joint-racking Rheums.
 Dire was the tossing, deep the groans, despair
 490 Tended the sick busiest from Couch to Couch;
 And over them triumphant Death his Dart
 Shook, but delaid to strike, though oft invok't
 With vows, as thir chief good, and final hope.
 Sight so deform what heart of Rock could long
 495 Drie-ey'd behold? *Adam* could not, but wept,
 Though not of Woman born; compassion quell'd
 His best of Man, and gave him up to tears
 A space, till firmer thoughts restraint excess,
 And scarce recovering words his plaint renew'd.
 500 Omiserable Mankind, to what fall
 Degraded, to what wretched state reserv'd!
 Better end heer unborn. Why is life giv'n
 To be thus wrested from us? rather why
 Obtruded on us thus? who if we knew
 505 What we receive, would either not accept
 Life offer'd, or soon beg to lay it down,
 Glad to be so dismift in peace. Can thus
 Th' Image of God in man created once
 So goodly and erect, though faultie since,
 510 To such unsightly sufferings be debas't
 Under inhuman pains? Why should not Man,
 Retaining still Divine similitude
 In part, from such deformities be free,
 And for his Makers Image sake exempt?

Thir

Page Number. 300] The first o is battered in some copies examined. Running Head. In copies 7, 20, and 21 there is a space work-up between *Paradife* and *Lost.* and the period is the recurrent round one. 485-487 These lines are lacking in 1667. See reproduction from that edition on opposite page. 493 *thir]]* Stressed? 505 *we]]* Stressed? 507 *difmift]* The second i is very faint in all copies examined. Catchword. *Thir]* As on pages 112, 128, 136, and 280 this page carries only thirty-three lines of text and the catchword is two line spaces below the bottom line of the text.

Paradise lost. Book 10.

I must return to native dust? O sight
 Of terrour, foul and ugly to behold,
 Horrid to think, how horrible to feel!
 To whom thus *Michael*. Death thou hast seen
 In his first shape on man; but many shapes
 Of Death, and many are the wayes that lead
 To his grim Cave, all dismal; yet to sense
 More terrible at th' entrance then within.
 Some, as thou saw'st, by violent stroke shall die,
 By Fire, Flood, Famin, by Intemperance more
 In Meats and Drinks, which on the Earth shal bring
 Diseases dire, of which a monstrous crew
 Before thee shall appear; that thou mayst know
 What miserie th' inabstinence of *Eve*
 Shall bring on men. Immediately a place
 Before his eyes appeard, sad, noysom, dark,
 A Lazar-house it seemd, wherein were laid
 Numbers of all diseas'd, all maladies
 Of gastly Spasim, or racking torture, qualmes
 Of heart-sick Agonie, all feavorous kinds,
 Convulsions, Epilepsies, fierce Catarrhs,
 Intestin Stone and Ulcer, Colic pangs,
 Dropsies, and Asthma's, and Joint-racking Rheums.
 Dire was the tossing, deep the groans, despair
 Tended the sick busiest from Couch to Couch;
 And over them triumphant Death his Dart
 Shook, but delaide to strike, though oft invok't
 With vows, as thir chief good, and final hope.
 Sight so deform what heart of Rock could long
 Drie-ey'd behold? *Adam* could not, but wept,
 Though not of Woman born; compassion quell'd
 His best of Man, and gave him up to tears

Q q 2

470

480

490

A

Because a 1667 print was reproduced on the preceding page for comparison with the 1674 page, a verso as bound, this page is used only in order to have the next 1674 page, a recto as bound, print herein as a recto.

Book XI. *Paradise Lost.* 301

- 515 Thir Makers Image, answerd *Michael*, then
 Forsook them, when themselves they villifi'd
 To serve ungovern'd appetite, and took
 His Image whom they serv'd, a brutish vice,
 Inductive mainly to the sin of *Eve*.
- 520 Therefore so abject is thir punishment,
 Disfiguring not Gods likeness, but thir own,
 Or if his likeness, by themselves defac't
 While they pervert pure Natures healthful rules
 To loathsom sickness, worthily, since they
- 525 Gods Image did not reverence in themselves.
 I yield it just, said *Adam*, and submit.
 But is there yet no other way, besides
 These painful passages, how we may come
 To Death, and mix with our connatural dust?
- 530 There is, said *Michael*, if thou well observe
 The rule of not too much, by temperance taught
 In what thou eatst and drinkst, seeking from thence
 Due nourishment, not gluttonous delight,
 Till many years over thy head return:
- 535 So maist thou live, till like ripe Fruit thou drop
 Into thy Mothers lap, or be with ease
 Gatherd, not harshly pluckt, for death mature:
 This is old age; but then thou must outlive
 Thy youth, thy strength, thy beauty, which will change
- 540 To witherd weak and gray; thy Senses then
 Obtuse, all taste of pleasure must forgoe,
 To what thou hast, and for the Aire of youth
 Hopeful and cheerful, in thy blood will reigne
 A melancholly damp of cold and dry
- 545 To weigh thy Spirits down, and last consume
 The Balme of Life. To whom our Ancestor.
 Henceforth I flie not Death, nor would prolong
 Life much, bent rather how I may be quit

Fairest

515 *Michael*,]] The comma is very faint in all 1674 copies examined. 524 *worthily*,]] The comma is faint, seemingly broken, in all 1674 copies examined. 526 *yield*] yeild 537 *mature*:] The colon is italic. 539 The line is long and no spaces appear after the commas. 540 *and*] & 545 *weigh*] waigh *Spirits*] spirits

302 *Paradise Lost.* Book XI.

Fairest and easiest of this comrous charge,
 Which I must keep till my appointed day
 Of rendring up, and patiently attend
 My dissolution. *Michael* repli'd,

Nor love thy Life, nor hate ; but what thou liv'st
 Live well, how long or short permit to Heav'n :
 And now prepare thee for another sight.

He lookd and saw a spacious Plaine, whereon
 Were Tents of various hue ; by some were herds
 Of Cartel grazing : others, whence the sound
 Of Instruments that made melodious chime

Was heard, of Harp and Organ ; and who moov'd
 Thir stops and chords was seen : his volant touch
 Instinct through all proportions low and high
 Fled and pursu'd transverse the resonant fugue.

In other part stood one who at the Forge
 Labouring, two massie clods of Iron and Bras
 Had melted (whether found where casual fire
 Had wasted woods on Mountain or in Vale,

Down to the veins of Earth, thence gliding hot
 To som Caves mouth, or whether washt by stream
 From underground) the liquid Ore he dreind
 Into fit moulds prepar'd ; from which he form'd
 First his own Tooles; then, what might else be wrought
 Fusil or grav'n in mettle. After these,

But on the hether side a different sort
 From the high neighbouring Hills, which was thir
 Down to the Plain descended : by thir guise (Sear,
 Just men they seemd, and all thir study bent

To worship God aright, and know his works
 Not hid, nor those things last which might preserve

Freedom and Peace to men : they on the Plain
 Long had not walkt, when from the Tents behold
 A Beavie of fair Women, richly gay

In

Running Head. XI.] The period is dropped in all copies examined. 551-552 The words
 and patiently attend / My dissolution. are lacking in 1667. See reproduction, line 548, from that
 edition on opposite page. 551 up,] up. 552 *Michael* repli'd,] *Michael* to him repli'd.
 579 last] lost This change was required by the 1668 *Errata*.

Paradise lost.

Book 10.

- There is, said *Michael*, if thou well observe
 The rule of not too much, by temperance taught
 In what thou eatst and drinkst, seeking from thence
 Due nourishment, not gluttonous delight, 530 | 530
- Till many years over thy head return:
 So maist thou live, till like ripe Fruit thou drop
 Into thy Mothers lap, or be with ease
 Gatherd, not harshly pluckt, for death mature:
 This is old age; but then thou must outlive 535
- Thy youth, thy strength, thy beauty, which will
 To witherd weak & gray; thy Senses then (change
 Obtuse, all taste of pleasure must forgoe,
 To what thou hast, and for the Aire of youth
 Hopeful and cheerful, in thy blood will reigne 540 | 540
- A melancholly damp of cold and dry
 To waigh thy spirits down, and last consume
 The Balme of Life. To whom our Ancestor.
 Henceforth I flie not Death, nor would prolong
 Life much, bent rather how I may be quit 545
- Fairest and easiest of this combrous charge,
 Which I must keep till my appointed day
 Of rendring up. *Michael* to him repli'd.
- Nor love thy Life, nor hate; but what thou livst
 Live well, how long or short permit to Heav'n: 550 | 550
- And now prepare thee for another sight.
 He lookd and saw a spacious Plaine, whereon
 Were Tents of various hue; by some were herds
 Of Cattel grazing: others, whence the sound
 Of Instruments that made melodious chime 555
- Was heard, of Harp and Organ; and who moovd
 Thir stops and chords was seen: his volant touch
 Instinct through all proportions low and high
- Fled

Because a 1667 print was reproduced on the preceding page for comparison with the 1674 page, a verso as bound, this page is used only in order to have the next 1674 page, a recto as bound, print herein as a recto.

Book XI. *Paradise Lost.* 303

- In Gems and wanton dress ; to the Harp they sung
Soft amorous Ditties, and in dance came on :
585 The Men though grave, ey'd them, and let thir eyes
Rove without rein, till in the amorous Net
Fast caught, they lik'd, and each his liking chose ;
And now of love they treat till th' Eevning Star
Loves Harbinger appeerd ; then all in heat
590 They light the Nuptial Torch, and bid invoke
Hymen, then first to marriage Rites invok't ;
With Feast and Musick all the Tents resound.
Such happy interview and fair event
Of love and youth not lost, Songs, Garlands, Flours,
595 And charming Symphonies attach'd the heart
Of *Adam*, soon enclin'd to admit delight,
The bent of Nature ; which he thus express'd.
True opener of mine eyes, prime Angel blest,
Much better seems this Vision, and more hope
600 Of peaceful dayes portends, then those two past ;
Those were of hate and death, or pain much worse,
Here Nature seems fulfilld in all her ends.
To whom thus *Michael*. Judg not what is best
By pleasure, though to Nature seeming meet,
605 Created, as thou art, to nobler end
Holie and pure, conformitie divine.
Those Tents thou sawst so pleasant, were the Tents
Of wickednes, wherein shall dwell his Race
Who slew his Brother ; studious they appere
610 Of Arts that polish Life, Inventers rare,
Unmindful of thir Maker, though his Spirit
Taught them, but they his gifts acknowledg'd none.
Yet they a beauteous offspring shall beget ;
For that fair femal Troop thou sawst, that seemd
615 Of Goddesses, so blithe, so smooth, so gay,
Yet empty of all good wherein consists

Womans

Running Head. *Paradise*] The broken P see also pages 223, 239, 255, 269, and 303. [588 treat]
The crossbar of the first t is worn. 591 *Hymen*,] *Hymen*, 594 and] & 616 consists] In
several 1674 copies, this word and the first three letters in the Catchword Womans print faintly.

304 *Paradise Lost.* Book XI.

- Womans domestic honour and chief praise ;
 Bred onely and completed to the taste
 Of lustful appetence, to sing, to dance,
 620 To dress, and troule the Tongue, and roule the Eye.
 To these that sober Race of Men, whose lives
 Religious titl'd them the Sons of God,
 Shall yield up all thir vertue, all thir fame
 Ignobly, to the traines and to the smiles
 625 Of these fair Atheists, and now swim in joy,
 (Erelong to swim at large) and laugh ; for which
 The world erelong a world of tears must weepe.
 To whom thus *Adam* of short joy bereft.
 O pittie and shame, that they who to live well
 630 Enterd so faire, should turn aside to tread
 Paths indirect, or in the mid way faint !
 But still I see the tenor of Mans woe
 Holds on the same, from Woman to begin.
 From Mans effeminate slacknes it begins,
 635 Said th' Angel, who should better hold his place
 By wisdome, and superiour gifts receav'd.
 But now prepare thee for another Scene.
 He lookd and saw wide Territorie spred
 Before him, Towns, and rural works between,
 640 Cities of Men with lofty Gates and Towrs,
 Concours in Arms, fierce Faces threatening Warr,
 Giants of mightie Bone, and bould emprise ;
 Part wield thir Arms, part courb the foaming Steed,
 Single or in Array of Battel rang'd
 645 Both Horse and Foot, nor idely mustring stood ;
 One way a Band select from forage drives
 A herd of Beeves, faire Oxen and faire Kine
 From a fat Meddow ground ; or fleecy Flock,
 Ewes and thir bleating Lambs over the Plaine,
 650 Thir Bootie ; scarce with Life the Shepherds flye,

But

618 onely]] The first syllable is stressed. 623 yield] yeild 626 large)] larg)
 636 receav'd.] receavd. 641 Concours]] The retention of f as a final letter comes from too
 close following of the 1667 text.

Book XI. *Paradise Lost.* 305

- But callin aide, which makes a bloody Fray ;
 With cruel Tournament the Squadrons joine ;
 Where Cattle pastur'd late, now scatterd lies
 With Carcasses and Arms th' ensanguind Field
 655 Deserted : Others to a Citie strong
 Lay Seige, encamp't ; by Batterie, Scale, and Mine,
 Assaulting ; others from the wall defend
 With Dart and Jav'lin, Stones and sulfurous Fire ;
 On each hand slaughter and gigantic deeds.
 660 In other part the scepter'd Haralds call
 To Council in the Citie Gates : anon
 Grey-headed men and grave, with Warriours mixt,
 Assemble, and Harangues are heard, but soon
 In factious opposition, till at last
 665 Of middle Age one rising, eminent
 In wise deport, spake much of Right and Wrong,
 Of Justice, of Religion, Truth and Peace,
 And Judgment from above : him old and young
 Exploded and had seiz'd with violent hands,
 670 Had not a Cloud descending snatch'd him thence
 Unseen amid the throng : so violence
 Proceeded, and Oppression, and Sword-Law
 Through all the Plain, and refuge none was found.
Adam was all in tears, and to his guide
 675 Lamenting turnd full sad ; O what are these,
 Deaths Ministers, not Men, who thus deal Death
 Inhumanly to men, and multiply
 Ten thousandfould the sin of him who slew
 His Brother ; for of whom such massacher
 680 Make they but of thir Brethren, men of men ?
 But who was that Just Man, whom had not Heav'n
 Rescu'd, had in his Righteousness bin lost ?
 To whom thus *Michael*. These are the product
 Of those ill mated Marriages thou saw'st :

X

Where

Running Head. *Loft.*] The recurrent round period. 651 callin] call in makes] tacks Beeching printed 'tacks' and put 'makes' in a footnote; but I am inclined to believe that this was a deliberate emendation made by Milton or his emissary. The word 'tacks' in 1667 which has baffled all commentators so far as meaning is concerned, is almost a technical or semi-technical military term that means, or meant, 'to join in combat.' But Milton was probably led to change it because it was not clear to many readers. Newton (1749) thought the line was clearer after the change, indicating that the word 'tacks' meant little to him. Verity (1910) thought that the word 'tacks' was meaningless, and stated categorically that Milton never used the word elsewhere; but he did, see *History of Britain*, volume 10 (Columbia), page 71, line 19 'it was Venusius who eeven to these times held them tack, both himself remaining to the end unvanquish'd, and some part of his Countrie not so much as reach't.' The word 'tack' also appears as a noun in *Of Reformation*, 3:8:5, 'the Protector . . . holding tack against two of the Kings Generals, made them of force content themselves . . .' 653 Cattle] Cattel 657 wall] Wall
 668 Judgment] Judgement 669 Exploded] Exploded, 676 Deaths] The D is battered in all copies examined. 678 thousandfould] thoufand fould 683 Michael.] Michael;
 684 ill mated] ill-mated saw'ft:] saw'ft;

306 *Paradise Lost.* Book XI.

- 685 Where good with bad were matcht, who of them-
Abhor to joyn ; and by imprudence mixt, (selves
Produce prodigious Births of bodie or mind.
Such were these Giants, men of high renown ;
For in those dayes Might onely shall be admir'd,
690 And Valour and Heroic Vertu call'd ;
To overcome in Battle, and subdue
Nations, and bring home spoils with infinite
Man-slaughter, shall be held the highest pitch
Of human Glorie, and for Glorie done
695 Of triumph, to be styl'd great Conquerours,
Patrons of Mankind, Gods, and Sons of Gods,
Destroyers rightlier call'd and Plagues of men.
Thus Fame shall be atchiev'd, renown on Earth,
And what most merits fame in silence hid.
700 But hee the seventh from thee, whom thou beheldst
The onely righteous in a World perverse,
And therefore hated, therefore so beset
With Foes for daring single to be just,
And utter odious Truth, that God would come
705 To judge them with his Saints: Him the most High
Rapt in a balmie Cloud with winged Steeds
Did, as thou sawst, receave, to walk with God
High in Salvation and the Climes of bliss,
Exempt from Death ; to shew thee what reward
710 Awaits the good, the rest what punishment ?
Which now direct thine eyes and soon behold.
He look'd, and saw the face of things quite chang'd,
The brazen Throat of Warr had ceast to roar,
All now was turn'd to jollitie and game,
715 To luxurie and riot, feaft and dance,
Marrying or prostituting, as befell,
Rape or Adulterie, where passing faire
Allurd them ; thence from Cups to civil Broiles.

At

689 onely]] First syllable stressed. 691 Battle,] Battel, 693 slaughter,shall] No space.
 698 atchiev'd,] achiev'd, 701 onely]] First syllable stressed. 702 hated,] The t is indis-
 cernible in most copies examined and entirely lacking in others. 710 punishment?] punishment;
 Either the compositor was wrongly assuming that the immediately preceding what indicated
 interrogation, or the question mark is foul case for a semicolon. 712 look'd, and] look'd, &
 chang'd,] chang'd;

Book XI. *Paradise Lost.* 307

- At length a Reverend Sire among them came,
 720 And of thir doings great dislike declar'd,
 And testif'd against thir wayes ; hee oft
 Frequented thir Assemblies, whereso met,
 Triumphs or Festivals, and to them preachd
 Conversion and Repentance, as to Souls
 725 In Prison under Judgements imminent :
 But all in vain : which when he saw, he ceas'd
 Contending, and remov'd his Tents farr off ;
 Then from the Mountain hewing Timber tall,
 Began to build a Vessel of huge bulk,
 730 Measur'd by Cubit, length, and breadth, and hight,
 Smeard round with Pitch, and in the side a dore
 Contriv'd, and of provisions laid in large
 For Man and Beast : when loe a wonder strange !
 Of every Beast, and Bird, and Insect small
 735 Came seavens, and pairs, and enterd in, as taught
 Thir order : last the Sire, and his three Sons
 With thir four Wives ; and God made fast the dore.
 Meanwhile the Southwind rose, and with black wings
 Wide hovering, all the Clouds together drove
 740 From under Heav'n ; the Hills to their supplie
 Vapour, and Exhalation dusk and moist,
 Sent up amain ; and now the thick'nd Skie
 Like a dark Ceeling stood ; down rush'd the Rain
 Impetuous, and continu'd till the Earth
 745 No more was seen ; the floating Vessel swum
 Uplifted ; and secure with beaked prow
 Rode tilting o're the Waves, all dwellings else
 Flood overwhelmd, and them with all thir pomp
 Deep under water rould ; Sea cover'd Sea,
 750 Sea without shoar ; and in thir Palaces
 Where luxurie late reign'd, Sea-monsters whelp'd
 And stabl'd ; of Mankind, so numerous late,

X 2

All

722 thir]] Stressed? 724 Conversion] The f is broken at the top in all copies examined.
 725 Prifon] prifon 730 First and] & 732 Contriv'd,] The apostrophe is very faint in all
 copies examined. 733 strange 1] strange! All 1674 copies examined print l for 'l' probably be-
 cause of foul case. 734 every] everie 736 order:] order; 737 thir]] Stressed? 738 and] &
 739 Wide] The W is wrong font. 751 Where] The W is wrong font.

308 *Paradise Lost.* Book XI.

All left, in one small bottom swum imbark't.

How didst thou grieve then, *Adam*, to behold

- 755 The end of all thy Offspring, end so sad,
Depopulation; thee another Floud,
Of tears and sorrow a Floud thee also drown'd,
And sunk thee as thy Sons; till gently reard
By th' Angel, on thy feet thou stoodst at last,
760 Though comfortless, as when a Father mourns
His Children, all in view destroyd at once;
And scarce to th' Angel utterdst thus thy plaint.

O Visions ill foreseen! better had I

Liv'd ignorant of future, so had borne

- 765 My part of evil onely, each dayes lot
Anough to beare; those now, that were dispens'd
The burd'n of many Ages, on me light
At once, by my foreknowledge gaining Birth
Abortive, to torment me ere thir being,
770 With thought that they must be. Let no man seek
Henceforth to be foretold what shall befall
Him or his Childern, evil he may be sure,
Which neither hisforeknowing can prevent,
And hee the future evil shall no less
775 In apprehension then in substance feel
Grievous to bear: but that care now is past,
Man is not whom to warne: those few escap't
Famin and anguish will at last consume
Wandring that watrie Desert: I had hope
780 When violence was ceas't, and Warr on Earth,
All would have then gon well, peace would have
With length of happy dayes the race of man; (crown'd
But I was farr deceav'd; for now I see
Peace to corrupt no les than Warr to waste.
785 How comes it thus? unsould, Celestial Guide,
And whether here the Race of man will end

To

Running Head. *Lost.*] The L is broken, see also pages 248, 276, and 324.

761 Children,] Childern, But note the unchanged 1667 form on this same page in line 772.

763 forseen!] The top of the f is broken off in most copies examined. 765 onely,]] The first syllable is stressed. 766 beare;] bear; 776 bear:] Italic colon. 779 Wandring] The W is wrong font. 782 With] The W is wrong font. dayes] days 784 Warr] The W is wrong font. 786 end.]] In many 1674 copies examined the period is entirely lacking.

Book XI. *Paradise Lost.* 309

- To whom thus *Michael*. Those whom last thou sawst
 In Triumph and luxurious wealth, are they
 First seen in acts of prowess eminent
 790 And great exploits, but of true vertu void ;
 Who having spilt much blood, and don much waste
 Subduing Nations, and achievd thereby
 Fame in the World, high titles, and rich prey,
 Shall change thir course to pleasure, ease, and sloth,
 795 Surfet, and lust, till wantonness and pride
 Raise out of friendship hostil deeds in Peace.
 The conquerd also, and enslav'd by Warr
 Shall with thir freedom lost all vertu loose
 And fear of God, from whom thir pietie feign'd
 800 In sharp contest of Battel found no aide
 Against invaders ; therefore coold in zeale
 Thenceforth shall practice how to live secure,
 Worldlie or dissolute, on what thir Lords
 Shall leave them to enjoy ; for th' Earth shall bear
 805 More then anough, that temperance may be tri'd :
 So all shall turn degenerate, all deprav'd,
 Justice and Temperance, Truth and Faith forgot ;
 One Man except, the onely Son of light
 In a dark Age, against example good,
 810 Against allurement, custom, and a World
 Offended ; fearless of reproach and scorn,
 Or violence, hee of thir wicked wayes
 Shall them admonish, and before them set
 The paths of righteousness, how much more safe,
 815 And full of peace, denouncing wrauth to come
 On thir impenitence ; and shall returne
 Of them derided, but of God observd
 The one just Man alive ; by his command
 Shall build a wondrous Ark, as thou beheldst,
 820 To save himself and houshold from amidst

788 Triumph] triumph 793 World,] The W is too low. 799 fear] feare 806 degenerate,]]
 The comma is very faint in most 1674 copies examined and is entirely lacking in a few.
 808 onely]] First syllable stressed. 816 thir]] Stressed.

310 *Paradise Lost.* Book XI.

A World devote to universal rack.

No sooner hee with them of Man and Beast
Select for life shall in the Ark be lodg'd,
And shelterd round, but all the Cataracts

825 Of Heav'n set open on the Earth shall powre
Raine day and night, all fountains of the Deep
Broke up, shall heave the Ocean to usurp
Beyond all bounds, till inundation rise

Above the highest Hills: then shall this Mount

830 Of Paradise by might of Waves be moovd
Out of his place, pushd by the horned floud,
With all his verdure spoil'd, and Trees adrift
Down the great River to the op'ning Gulf,

And there take root an Iland salt and bare,

835 The haunt of Seales and Orcs, and Sea-mews clang.
To teach thee that God attributes to place
No sanctifie, if none be thither brought
By Men who there frequent, or therein dwell.

And now what further shall ensue, behold.

840 He lookd, and saw the Ark hull on the floud,
Which now abated, for the Clouds were fled,
Drivn by a keen North-winde, that blowing drie
Wrinkl'd the face of Deluge, as decaid;

And the clear Sun on his wide watrie Glass

845 Gaz'd hot, and of the fresh Wave largely drew,
As after thirst, which made thir flowing shrink
From standing lake to tripping ebbe, that stole
With soft foot towards the deep, who now had stoppt

His Sluces, as the Heav'n his windows shut.

850 The Ark no more now flotes, but seems on ground
Fast on the top of som high mountain fixt.
And now the tops of Hills as Rocks appeer;
With clamor thence the rapid Currents drive

Towards the retreating Sea thir furious tyde.

Forth-

Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent battered period. 826 fountains] fountaines 841 Which]
The recurrent wrong font W 843 Wrinkl'd] The W is wrong font. 848 With] The W is
wrong font. 853 With] The W is wrong font. clamor] The c is very faint in all copies examined.

Book XI. *Paradise Lost.* 311

- 855 Forthwith from out the Arke a Raven flies,
And after him, the surer messenger,
A Dove sent forth once and agen to spie
Green Tree or ground whereon his foot may light;
The second time returning, in his Bill
860 An Olive leafe he brings, pacific signe:
Anon drie ground appears, and from his Arke
The ancient Sire descends with all his Train;
Then with uplifted hands, and eyes devout,
Grateful to Heav'n, over his head beholds
865 A dewie Cloud, and in the Cloud a Bow
Conspicuous with three listed colours gay,
Betok'ning peace from God, and Cov'nant new.
Whereat the heart of *Adam* erst so sad
Greatly rejoice'd, and thus his joy broke forth.
870 O thou who future things canst represent
As present, Heav'ly instracter, I revive
At this last sight, assur'd that Man shall live
With all the Creatures, and thir seed preserve.
Farr less I now lament for one whole World
875 Of wicked Sons destroyd, then I rejoice
For one Man found so perfet and so just,
That God vourfes to raise another World
From him, and all his anger to forget.
But say, what mean those colourd streaks in Heavn,
880 Distended as the Brow of God appeas'd,
Or serve they as a flourie verge to binde
The fluid skirts of that same watrie Cloud,
Least it again dissolve and showr the Earth?
To whom th' Archangel. Dextrously thou aim'st;
885 So willingly doth God remit his Ire,
Though late repenting him of Man deprav'd,
Griev'd at his heart, when looking down he saw
The whole Earth fill'd with violence, and all flesh

X 4

Cor.

859 Bill] The B is battered in all copies examined. 868 Whereat] The W is wrong font.
870 who] that 1674 is a more modern form. 873 With] The W is wrong font. 874 World] The W is wrong font. 879 those] The e is very faint in all copies examined. 885 willingly] The third l prints too heavy thus making the g faint. God] The G is battered in all copies examined.

312 **Paradise Lost.** Book XI.

Corrupting each thir way ; yet those remoov'd,
 890 Such grace shall one just Man find in his sight,
 That he relents, not to blot out mankind,
 And makes a Covenant never to destroy
 The Earth again by flood, nor let the Sea
 Surpasse his bounds, nor Rain to drown the World
 895 With Man therein or Beast ; but when he brings
 Over the Earth a Cloud, will therein set
 His triple-colour'd Bow, whereon to look
 And call to mind his Cov'nant : Day and Night,
 Seed time and Harvest, Heat and hoary Frost
 900 Shall hold thir course, till fire purge all things new,
 Both Heav'n and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell.

The End of the Eleventh Book,

Paradise

889 *thir way;*] thirway; 899-901 In some but not all 1674 copies examined, the initial letters of these lines have dropped. 901 The first edition continues after this line with the remainder of the poem in what in that edition is Book 10. The left-hand end of the second rule prints clearly, faintly, and not at all in various 1674 copies.

In order to keep 1674 Book 12, page 31[3] as a recto and to have the reproduction from 1667 opposite it, this preceding recto is used for a sort of introduction. On its verso appear reproductions from 1667, the first of which was originally printed verso and the second recto, then 1674 page 31[3] follows as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.

Of the
TENTH BOOK

THE Son of God presents to his Father the Prayers
of our first Parents now repenting, and intercedes
for them: God accepts them, but declares that they
must no longer abide in Paradise; sends Michael with
a Band of Cherubim to dispossess them; but first to
reveal to Adam future things: Michaels coming
down. Adam shews to Eve certain ominous signs; he
discerns Michaels approach, goes out to meet him:
the Angel denounces thir departure. Eve's Lamenta-
tion. Adam pleads, but submits: The Angel leads him
up to a high Hill, sets before him in vision what shall
happ'n till the Flood; thence from the Flood relates,
and

The Argument.

and by degrees explains, who that Seed of the Woman
shall be; his Incarnation, Death Resurrection, and Ascen-
tion; the state of the Church till his second Coming.
Adam greatly satisfied and recomforted by these Relati-
ons and Promises descends the Hill with Michael;
wakens Eve, who all this while had slept, but with
gentle dreams compos'd to quietness of mind and sub-
mission. Michael in either hand leads them out of
Paradise, the fiery sword waving behind them, and
the Cherubim taking thir stations to guard the
Place.

THE

THE ARGUMENT (FIRST PRINTING) OF 1667 BOOK 10

31

Paradise Lost.

BOOK XII.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Angel Michael continues from the Flood to relate what shall succeed; then, in the mention of Abraham, comes by degrees to explain, who that Seed of the Woman shall be, which was promised
 5 Adam and Eve in the Fall; his Incarnation, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension; the state of the Church till his second Coming. Adam greatly satisfied and recomforted by these Relations and Promises descends the Hill with Michael; wakens Eve, who
 10 all this while had slept, but with gentle dreams compos'd to quietness of mind and submission. Michael in either hand leads them out of Paradise, the fiery Sword waving behind them, and the Cherubim taking thir Stations to guard the
 15 Place,

AS

Page Number. 31] All 1674 copies examined omit the second '3' of 313 and the number is printed as 31 Title. *Paradise Lost.*] PARADISE/ LOST. The rules are composite, not solid.

THE ARGUMENT. The Argument of 1674 Book 12 is about the last half of the Argument of 1667 Book 10, and the collation here is 1674, 1668, and 1669. See the reproductions from 1667.
 1-5 Most of these first five lines of the 1674 Argument are supplied for that edition and are not found in 1667. 5 *Death,] Death] Death, 6 Ascension;]] Ascension, 8 Relations]] relations Promises]] Promises, 15 Place,] Place.]*

314 **Paradise Lost.** Book XII.

AS one who in his journey bates at Noone,
 Though bent on speed, so heer the Arch-
 angel paus'd
 Betwixt the world destroy'd and world re-
 If *Adam* aught perhaps might interpose ; (stor'd,
 5 Then with transition sweet new Speech resumes.
 Thus thou hast seen one World begin and end ;
 And Man as from a second stock proceed.
 Much thou hast yet to see, but I perceave
 Thy mortal sight to faile ; objects divine
 10 Must needs impaire and wearie human sense :
 Henceforth what is to com I will relate,
 Thou therefore give due audience, and attend.
 This second sourf of Men, while yet but few ;
 And while the dread of judgement past remains
 15 Fresh in thir mindes, fearing the Deitie,
 With some regard to what is just and right
 Shall lead thir lives, and multiplie apace,
 Labouring the soile, and reaping plenteous crop,
 Corn wine and oyle ; and from the herd or flock,
 20 Oft sacrificing Bullock, Lamb, or Kid,
 With large Wine-offerings pour'd, and sacred Feast,
 Shal spend thir dayes in joy unblam'd, and dwell
 Long time in peace by Families and Tribes
 Under paternal rule ; till one shall rise
 25 Of proud ambitious heart, who not content
 With fair equalitie, fraternal state,
 Will arrogate Dominion undeferv'd
 Over his brethren, and quite dispossess
 Concord and law of Nature from the Earth ,
 30 Hunting (and Men not Beasts shall be his game)
 With Warr and hostile snare such as refuse

Sub-

This page contains only thirty-two lines of print and thirty-one lines of text and the first line drops approximately one extra line space below the running head. [Running Head. XII.] The second I is twisted in all 1674 copies examined. 1-5 These lines are not in 1667, see reproduction from that edition for the difference here. Five lines were added in 1674 after 1667 line 897. 6 This line is not indented in 1667. 13 sourf]] The rare final f coming from too close following of 1667. few;] few, The compositor has taken the mark in 1667 as a semicolon, see my note, volume 2:612 on this mark in 1667. 21 Feast,] Feaft The comma seems to be an improvement. 29 Earth ,] Earth; In the 1674 copies examined, the punctuation here seems to be a comma; but one or two copies, such as copy 17, have a faint mark above the comma. It seems to me that either mark, in 1674, might have sufficed. The mark in 1674 may be either a badly worn semicolon and the intent have been not to change the punctuation; or it may have been a comma printed because of foul case for a semicolon; or Milton or someone else may have intended to change the 1667 semicolon to a comma. There is a space before the comma in all 1674 copies examined.

Book 10.

Paradise lost.

- 880 To whom th' Archangel. Dextrously thou aim'st;
 880 So willingly doth God remit his Ire,
 Though late repenting him of Man deprav'd,
 Griev'd at his heart, when looking down he saw
 The whole Earth fill'd with violence, and all flesh
 885 Corrupting each thirwa y ; yet those remov'd,
 Such grace shall one just Man find in his sight,
 That he relents, not to blot out mankind,
 And makes a Covenant never to destroy
 The Earth again by flood, nor let the Sea
 890 Surpass his bounds, nor Rain to drown the World
 With Man therein or Beast ; but when he brings
 Over the Earth a Cloud, will therein set
 His triple-colour'd Bow, whereon to look
 895 And call to mind his Cov'nant : Day and Night,
 Seed time and Harvest, Heat and hoary Frost
 Shall hold thir course, till fire purge all things new,
 Both Heav'n and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell.
 Thus thou hast seen one World begin and end ;
 And Man as from a second stock proceed.
 900 Much thou hast yet to see, but I perceive
 Thy mortal sight to faile ; objects divine
 Must needs impaire and wearie human sense :
 Henceforth what is to com I will relate,
 Thou therefore give due audience, and attend.
 905 This second sourf of Men, while yet but few,
 And while the dread of judgement past remains
 Fresh in thir mindes, fearing the Deitie,
 With some regard to what is just and right
 Shall lead thir lives, and multiplie apace,
 Labouring the soile, and reaping plenteous crop,
 910 Corn wine and oyle ; and from the herd or flock,
 Oft

Because a 1667 print was reproduced on the preceding page for comparison with the 1674 page, a verso as bound, this page is used only in order to have the next 1674 page, a recto as bound, print herein as a recto.

Book XII. *Paradise Lost.* 315

- Subjection to his Empire tyrannous :
 A mightie Hunter thence he shall be styl'd
 Before the Lord, as in despite of Heav'n,
 35 Or from Heav'n claming second Sovrantie ;
 And from Rebellion shall derive his name,
 Though of Rebellion others he accuse.
 Hee with a crew, whom like Ambition joyns
 With him or under him to tyrannize,
 40 Marching from *Eden* towards the West, shall finde
 The Plain, wherein a black bituminous gurge
 Boiles out from under ground, the mouth of Hell ;
 Of Brick, and of that stuff they cast to build
 A Citie and Towre, whose top may reach to Heav'n ;
 45 And get themselves a name, least far disperst
 In foraign Lands thir memorie be lost
 Regardless whether good or evil fame.
 But God who oft descends to visit men
 Unseen, and through thir habitations walks
 50 To mark thir doings, them beholding soon,
 Comes down to see thir Citie, ere the Tower
 Obstruct Heav'n Towrs, and in derision sets
 Upon thir Tongues a various Spirit to rase
 Quite out thir Native Language, and instead
 55 To sow a jangling noise of words unknown :
 Forthwith a hideous gabble rises loud
 Among the Builders ; each to other calls
 Not understood, till hoarse, and all in rage,
 As mockt they storm ; great laughter was in Heav'n
 60 And looking down, to see the hubbub strange
 And hear the din ; thus was the building left
 Ridiculous, and the work Confusion nam'd.
 Whereto thus *Adam* fatherly displeas'd.
 O execrable Son so to aspire

Above

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. 44 and] & to Heav'n;] In many copies examined there is a space work-up between these two words. 46 lost] lost, 50 To] The T is broken in all copies examined. 54 Language,] The recurrent faint comma.

316 *Paradise Lost.* Book XII.

- 65 Above his Brethren, to himself assuming
 Authoritie usurpt, from God not giv'n :
 He gave us onely over Beast, Fish, Fowl
 Dominion absolute ; that right we hold
 By his donation ; but Man over men
- 70 He made not Lord ; such title to himself
 Reserving, human left from human free.
 But this Usurper his encroachment proud
 Stayes not on Man ; to God his Tower intends
 Siege and defiance : Wretched man ! what food
- 75 Will he convey up thither to sustain
 Himself and his rash Armie, where thin Aire
 Above the Clouds will pine his entrails gross,
 And famish him of Breath, if not of Bread ?
 To whom thus *Michael*. Justly thou abhorrest
- 80 That Son, who on the quiet state of men
 Such trouble brought, affecting to subdue
 Rational Libertie ; yet know w^thall,
 Since thy original lapse, true Libertie
 Is lost, which alwayes with right Reason dwells
- 85 Twinn'd, and from her hath no dⁱvidual being :
 Reason in man obscur'd, or not obeyd,
 Immediately inordinate desires
 And upstart Passions catch the Government
 From Reason, and to servitude reduce
- 90 Man till then free. Therefore since hee permits
 Within himself unworthie Powers to reign
 Over free Reason, God in Judgement just
 Subjects him from without to violent Lords ;
 Who oft as undeservedly enthrall
- 95 His outward freedom : Tyrannie must be,
 Though to the Tyrant thereby no excuse.
 Yet sometimes Nations will decline so low

From

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. 67 *onely*] Stressed. 87 *desires*] The first e is very faint in most copies examined. 90 *hee*] Stressed? 92 *Judgement*] The d is very faint in all copies examined.

Book XII. *Paradise Lost.* 317

From vertue, which is reason, that no wrong,
 But Justice, and some fatal curse annex
 100 Deprives them of thir outward libertie,
 Thir inward lost : Witness th' irreverent Son
 Of him who built the Ark, who for the shame
 Don to his Father, heard this heavie curse,
Servant of Servants, on his vicious Race.
 105 Thus will this latter, as the former World,
 Still tend from bad to worse, till God at last
 Wearied with their iniquities, withdraw
 His presence from among them, and avert
 His holy Eyes ; resolving from thenceforth
 110 To leave them to thir own polluted wayes ;
 And one peculiar Nation to select
 From all the rest, of whom to be invok'd,
 A Nation from one faithful man to spring :
 Him on this side *Euphrates* yet residing,
 115 Bred up in Idol-worship ; O that men
 (Canst thou believe ?) should be so stupid grown,
 While yet the Patriark liv'd, who scap'd the Flood,
 As to forsake the living God, and fall
 To worship thir own work in Wood and Stone
 120 For Gods ! yet him God the most High voutsafes
 To call by Vision from his Fathers house,
 His kindred and false Gods, into a Land
 Which he will shew him, and from him will raire
 A mightie Nation, and upon him showre
 125 His benediction so, that in his Seed
 All Nations shall be blest ; he straight obeys,
 Not knowing to what Land, yet firm believes :
 I see him, but thou canst not, with what Faith
 He leaves his Gods, his Friends, and native Soile
 130 *Ur of Chaldea*, passing now the Ford

To

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. [Running Head. *Lost.*] The L is broken, see also pages 252, 288, and 333; 106 worse,] In my volume 2:615, 1667 Book 10:998, no comma prints because it was lacking in the copy, 36, photographed. All other 1667 copies show the comma. 115 worship,] The semicolon is faint in all copies examined. 126 he] hee Stressed or unstressed?

318 **Paradise Lost.** Book XII.

To *Haran*, after him a cumbrous Train

Of Herds and Flocks, and numerous servitude ;
Not wandring poor, but trusting all his wealth
With God, who call'd him, in a land unknown.

135 *Canaan* he now attains, I see his Tents

Pitcht about *Sechem*, and the neighbouring Plaine
Of *Moreb* ; there by promise he receaves
Gift to his Progenie of all that Land ;

From *Hamath* Northward to the Desert South

140 (Things by thir names I call, though yet unnam'd)

From *Hermon* East to the great Western Sea,
Mount *Hermon*, yonder Sea, each place behold
In prospect, as I point them; on the shoare
Mount *Carmel* ; here the double-founted stream

145 *Jordan*, true limit Eastward ; but his Sons
Shall dwell to *Senir*, that long ridge of Hills.

This ponder, that all Nations of the Earth
Shall in his Seed be blessed ; by that Seed
Is meant thy great deliverer, who shall bruise

150 The Serpents head ; whereof to thee anon
Plainlier shall be reveald. This Patriarch blest,
Whom *faithful Abraham* due time shall call,

A Son, and of his Son a Grand-childe leaves,
Like him in faith, in wisdom, and renown ;

155 The Grandchilde with twelve Sons increast, departs
From *Canaan*, to a Land hereafter call'd

Egypt, divided by the River *Nile* ;
See where it flows, disgorging at seaven mouthes
Into the Sea : to sojourn in that Land

160 He comes invited by a yonger Son
In time of dearth, a Son whose worthy deeds
Raise him to be the second in that Realme
Of *Pharao* : there he dies, and leaves his Race

Grow-

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. [Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. [155 departs] The top of the r is broken off in all copies examined.

Book XII. *Paradise Lost.* 319

- 165 Growing into a Nation, and now grown
 Suspected to a sequent King, who seeks
 To stop thir overgrowth, as inmate guests
 Too numerous; whence of guests he makes them slaves
 Inhospitably, and kills thir infant Males :
 Till by two brethren (those two brethren call
 170 *Moses* and *Aaron*) sent from God to claime
 His people from enthralment, they return
 With glory and spoile back to thir promis'd Land.
 But first the lawless Tyrant, who denies
 To know thir God, or message to regard,
 175 Must be compell'd by Signes and Judgements dire ;
 To blood unshed the Rivers must be turnd,
 Frogs, Lice and Flies must all his Palace fill
 With loath'd intrusion, and fill all the land ;
 His Cattel must of Rot and Murren die,
 180 Botches and blaines must all his flesh imbosf,
 And all his people ; Thunder mixt with Haile,
 Haile mixt with fire must rend th' *Egyptian* Skie
 And wheel on th' Earth, devouring where it roulz ;
 What it devours not, Herb, or Fruit, or Graine,
 185 A darksom Cloud of Locusts swarming down
 Must eat, and on the ground leave nothing green :
 Darkness must overshadow all his bounds,
 Palpable darkness, and blot out three dayes ;
 Last with one midnight stroke all the first-born
 190 Of *Egypt* must lie dead. Thus with ten wounds
 The River-dragon tam'd at length submits
 To let his sojourners depart, and oft
 Humbles his stubborn heart, but still as Ice
 More hard'nd after thaw, till in his rage
 195 Pursuing whom he late dismissd, the Sea
 Swallows him with his Host, but them lets pass

As

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. [Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 191 The] This The article seems to be wanted here.

320 **Paradise Lost.** Book XII.

- As on drie land between two christal walls,
 Aw'd by the rod of *Moses* so to stand
 Divided, till his rescu'd gain thir shoar :
- 200 Such wondrous power God to his Saint will lend,
 Though present in his Angel, who shall goe
 Before them in a Cloud, and Pillar of Fire,
 By day a Cloud, by night a Pillar of Fire,
 To guide them in thir journey, and remove
- 205 Behinde them, while th' obdurat King pursues :
 All night he will pursue, but his approach
 Darkness defends between till morning Watch ;
 Then through the Firey Pillar and the Cloud
 God looking forth will trouble all his Host
- 210 And craze thir Chariot wheels : when by command
Moses once more his potent Rod extends
 Over the Sea ; the Sea his Rod obeys ;
 On thir imbatelld ranks the Waves return,
 And overwhelm thir Warr : the Race elect
- 215 Safe towards *Canaan* from the shoar advance
 Through the wilde Desert, not the readiest way,
 Least entring on the *Canaanite* allarm'd
 Warr terrifie them inexpert, and feare
 Return them back to *Egypt*, choosing rather
- 220 Inglorious life with servitude ; for life
 To noble and ignoble is more sweet
 Untraind in Armes, where rashnes leads not on.
 This also shall they gain by thir delay
 In the wide Wilderness, there they shall found
- 225 Thir government, and thir great Senate choose
 Through the twelve Tribes, to rule by Laws ordain'd :
 God from the Mount of *Sinai*, whose gray top
 Shall tremble, he descending, will himself
 In Thunder Lightning and loud Trumpets sound

Ordaine

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. 203 Pillar] pillar 213 thir]] Almost certainly stressed. 225 thir]] Stressed? 228 he]] Stressed.

Book XII. *Paradise Lost.* 321

- 230 Ordaine them Lawes ; part such as appertaine
 To civil Justice, part religious Rites
 Of sacrifice, informing them, by types
 And shadows, of that destind Seed to bruise
 The Serpent, by what means he shall achieve
 235 Mankinds deliverance. But the voice of God
 To mortal eare is dreadful ; they beseech
 That *Moses* might report to them his will,
 And terror cease ; he grants what they besought
 Instructed that to God is no access
 240 Without Mediator, whose high Office now
Moses in figure beares, to introduce
 One greater, of whose day he shall foretell,
 And all the Prophets in thir Age the times
 Of great *Messiah* shall sing. Thus Laws and Rites
 245 Establishit, such delight hath God in Men
 Obedient to his will, that he voutsafes
 Among them to set up his Tabernacle,
 The holy One with mortal Men to dwell :
 By his prescript a Sanctuary is fram'd
 250 Of Cedar, overlaid with Gold, therein
 An Ark, and in the Ark his Testimony,
 The Records of his Cov'nant, over these
 A Mercie-seat of Gold between the wings
 Of two bright Cherubim, before him burn
 255 Seaven Lamps as in a Zodiac representing
 The Heav'ly fires ; over the Tent a Cloud
 Shall rest by Day, a fiery gleame by Night,
 Save when they journie, and at length they come,
 Conducted by his Angel to the Land
 260 Promisd to *Abraham* and his Seed : the rest
 Were long to tell, how many Battels fought,
 How many Kings destroyd, and Kingdoms won,

Y

Or

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. [Running Head. *Loft.*] The recurrent round period. 232 by] The b is wrong font. 233 shadows,] shadowes, 234 means] meanes
 238 he grants what they besought] he grants them thir desire, For meter, 1667 is one syllable
 deficient, and the 1674 form of the line must be preferred. This is a most remarkable metrical
 change. Who first caught it? 257 fiery] fierie

322 *Paradise Lost.* Book XII.

- Or how the Sun shall in mid Heav'n stand still
 A day entire, and Nights due course adjourne,
 Mans voice commanding, Sun in *Gibeon* stand,
 And thou Moon in the vale of *Aialon*,
 Till *Israel* overcome ; so call the third
 From *Abraham*, Son of *Isaac*, and from him
 His whole descent, who thus shall *Canaan* win.
- Here *Adam* interpos'd. O sent from Heav'n,
 Enlightner of my darkness, gracious things
 Thou hast reveald, those chiefly which concerne
 Just *Abraham* and his Seed : now first I finde
 Mine eyes true op'ning, and my heart much eas'd,
 Erwhile perplext with thoughts what would becom
 Of mee and all Mankind ; but now I see
 His day, in whom all Nations shall be blest,
 Favour unmerited by me, who sought
 Forbidd'n knowledge by forbidd'n means.
- This yet I apprehend not, why to those
 Among whom God will deigne to dwell on Earth
 So many and so various Laws are giv'n ;
 So many Laws argue so many sins
 Among them ; how can God with such reside ?
- To whom thus *Michael*. Doubt not but that sin
 Will reign among them, as of thee begot ;
 And therefore was Law given them to evince
 Thir natural pravitié, by stirring up
 Sin against Law to fight ; that when they see
 Law can discover sin, but not remove,
 Save by those shadowie expiations weak,
 The bloud of Bulls and Goats, they may conclude
 Some bloud more precious must be paid for Man,
 Just for unjust, that in such righteousness
 To them by Faith imputed, they may finde

Justi-

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. Running Head. XII.] The second I is twisted in all copies examined. 275 Erwhile]] Too close following by 1674 compositor of 1667 copy. 276 Mankind;] The recurrent faint semicolon. 278 me,]] Stressed.

Book XII. *Paradise Lost.* 323

- Justification towards God, and peace
 Of Conscience, which the Law by Ceremonies
 Cannot appease, nor Man the moral part
 Perform, and not performing cannot live.
 300 So law appears imperfect, and but giv'n
 With purpose to resign them in full time
 Up to a better Cov'nant, disciplin'd
 From shadowie Types to Truth, from Flesh to Spirit,
 From imposition of strict Laws, to free
 305 Acceptance of large Grace, from servil fear
 To filial, works of Law to works of Faith.
 And therefore shall not *Moses*, though of God
 Highly belov'd, being but the Minister
 Of Law, his people into *Canaan* lead ;
 310 But *Joshua* whom the Gentiles *Jesus* call,
 His Name and Office bearing, who shall quell
 The adversarie Serpent, and bring back
 Through the worlds wilderness long wanderd man
 Safe to eternal Paradise of rest.
 315 Meanwhile they in thir earthly *Canaan* plac't
 Long time shall dwell and prosper, but when sins
 National interrupt thir public peace,
 Provoking God to raise them enemies :
 From whom as oft he saves them penitent
 320 By Judges first, then under Kings ; of whom
 The second, both for pietie renouwd
 And puissant deeds, a promise shall receive
 Irrevocable , that his Regal Throne
 For ever shall endure ; the like shall sing
 325 All Prophecie, That of the Royal Stock
 Of *David* (so I name this King) shall rise
 A Son, the Womans Seed to thee foretold,
 Foretold to *Abraham*, as in whom shall trust

Y 2

All

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. Page Number. 323] The two 3's are of different fonts. 300 So] The S is below the line of type. law] Law 323 Irrevocable,) Space before the comma. 325 Prophecie, That)] Capital following comma as in 1667.

324 *Paradise Lost.* Book XII.

- All Nations, and to Kings foretold, of Kings
 330 The last, for of his Reign shall be no end.
 But first a long succession must ensue,
 And his next Son for Wealth and Wisdom fam'd,
 The clouded Ark of God till then in Tents
 Wandring, shall in a glorious Temple enshrine.
 335 Such follow him, as shall be registerd
 Part good, part bad, of bad the longer scowle,
 Whose foul Idolatries, and other faults
 Heapt to the popular summe, will so incense
 God, as to leave them, and expose thir Land,
 340 Thir Citie, his Temple, and his holy Ark
 With all his sacred things, a scorn and prey
 To that proud Citie, whose high Walls thou saw'st
 Left in confusion, *Babylon* thence call'd.
 There in captivitie he lets them dwell
 345 The space of seventie years, then brings them back,
 Rememb'ring mercie, and his Cov'nant sworn
 To *David*, stablisht as the dayes of Heav'n.
 Returnd from *Babylon* by leave of Kings
 Thir Lords, whom God dispos'd, the house of God
 350 They first re-edifie, and for a while
 In mean estate live moderate, till grown
 In wealth and multitude, factious they grow;
 But first among the Priests dissension springs,
 Men who attend the Altar, and should most
 355 Endeavour Peace: thir strife pollution brings
 Upon the Temple it self: at last they seise
 The Scepter, and regard not *Davids* Sons,
 Then loose it to a stranger, that the true
 Anointed King *Messiah* might be born
 360 Barr'd of his right; yet at his Birth a Starr
 Unseen before in Heav'n proclaims him com,

And

Book XII. *Paradise Lost.* 325

- And guides the Eastern Sages, who enquire
 His place, to offer Incense, Myrrh, and Gold ;
 His place of birth a solemn Angel tells
 365 To simple Shepherds, keeping watch by night ;
 They gladly thither haste, and by a Quire
 Of squadron Angels hear his Carol sung.
 A Virgin is his Mother, but his Sire
 The Power of the most High ; he shall ascend
 370 The Throne hereditarie, and bound his Reign
 With earths wide bounds, his glory with the Heav'ns.
 He ceas'd, discerning *Adam* with such joy
 Surcharg'd, as had like grief bin dew'd in tears,
 Without the vent of words, which these he breathd.
 375 O Prophet of glad tidings, finisher
 Of utmost hope ! now clear I understand
 What oft my steddiest thoughts have searcht in vain,
 Why our great expectation should be call'd
 The seed of Woman : Virgin Mother, Haile,
 380 High in the love of Heav'n, yet from my Loynes
 Thou shalt proceed, and from thy Womb the Son
 Of God most High ; So God with man unites.
 Needs must the Serpent now his capital bruise
 Expect with mortal paine : say where and when
 385 Thir fight, what stroke shall bruise the Victors heel.
 To whom thus *Michael*. Dream not of thir fight,
 As of a Duel, or the local wounds
 Of head or heel : not therefore joynes the Son
 Manhood to God-head, with more strength to foil
 390 Thy enemie ; nor so is overcome
Satan, whose fall from Heav'n, a deadlier bruise,
 Disabl'd not to give thee thy deaths wound :
 Which hee, who comes thy Saviour, shall recure,
 Not by destroying *Satan*, but his works

Y 3

In

326 **Paradise Lost.** Book XII.

- 395 In thee and in thy Seed : nor can this be,
 But by fulfilling that which thou didst want,
 Obedience to the Law of God, impos'd
 On penaltie of death, and suffering death,
 The penaltie to thy transgression due,
 400 And due to theirs which out of thine will grow :
 So onely can high Justice rest appaid.
 The Law of God exact he shall fulfill
 Both by obedience and by love, though love
 Alone fulfill the Law ; thy punishment
 405 He shall endure by coming in the Flesh
 To a reproachful life and cursed death,
 Proclaiming Life to all who shall believe
 In his redemption, and that his obedience
 Imputed becomes theirs by Faith, his merits
 410 To save them, not thir own, though legal works.
 For this he shall live hated, be blasphem'd,
 Seis'd on by force, judg'd, and to death condamnd
 A shameful and accurst, naild to the Cross
 By his own Nation, slaine for bringing Life ;
 415 But to the Cross he nailes thy Enemies,
 The Law that is against thee, and the sins
 Of all mankinde, with him there crucifi'd,
 Never to hurt them more who rightly trust
 In this his satisfaction ; so he dies,
 420 But soon revives, Death over him no power
 Shall long usurp ; ere the third dawning light
 Returne, the Starres of Morn shall see him rise
 Out of his grave, fresh as the dawning light,
 Thy ransom paid, which Man from death redeems,
 425 His death for Man, as many as offerd Life
 Neglect not, and the benefit imbrace
 By Faith not void of workes : this God-like act

Annuſ

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. [Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 405 *He]] Stressed?* 407 *Proclaiming]* *Proclaiming*

Book XII. *Paradise Lost.* 327

- Annuls thy doom, the death thou shouldest have dy'd,
 In sin for ever lost from life ; this act
 430 Shall bruise the head of *Satan*, crush his strength
 Defeating Sin and Death, his two maine armes,
 And fix farr deeper in his head thir stings
 Then temporal death shall bruise the Victors heel,
 Or theirs whom he redeems, a death like sleep,
 435 A gentle wafting to immortal Life.
 Nor after resurrection shall he stay
 Longer on Earth then certaine times to appear
 To his Disciples, Men who in his Life
 Still follow'd him ; to them shall leave in charge
 440 To teach all nations what of him they learn'd
 And his Salvation, them who shall beleeve
 Baptizing in the profluent stream, the signe
 Of washing them from guilt of sin to Life
 Pure, and in mind prepar'd, if so befall,
 445 For death, like that which the redeemer dy'd.
 All Nations they shall teach ; for from that day
 Not onely to the Sons of *Abrahams* Loines
 Salvation shall be Preacht, but to the Sons
 Of *Abrahams* Faith wherever through the world ;
 450 So in his seed all Nations shall be blest.
 Then to the Heav'n of Heav'ns he shall ascend
 With victory, triumphing through the aire
 Over his foes and thine ; there shall surprise
 The Serpent, Prince of aire, and drag in Chaines
 455 Through all his Realme, and there confounded leave ;
 Then enter into glory, and resume
 His Seat at Gods right hand, exalted high
 Above all names in Heav'n ; and thence shall come,
 When this worlds dissolution shall be ripe,
 460 With glory and power to judge both quick and dead,

Y 4

To

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. [Running Head. *Lost.*] The recurrent round period. 442 *stream*,] *streame*, 451 *he*]] Stressed? 455 *Realme*, and] *realme*, & 457 *Seat*] The S is below the line of type in all copies examined. 459 *dissolution*] *dissolution* 460 *Second* and] &

328 **Paradise Lost.** Book XII.

- To judge th' unfaithful dead, but to reward
 His faithful, and receave them into bliss,
 Whether in Heav'n or Earth, for then the Earth
 Shall all be Paradise, far happier place
 465 Then this of *Eden*, and far happier daies.
 So spake th' Archangel *Michael*, then paus'd,
 As at the Worlds great period ; and our Sire
 Replete with joy and wonder thus repli'd.
 O goodness infinite, goodness immense !
 470 That all this good of evil shall produce,
 And evil turn to good ; more wonderful
 Then that which by creation first brought forth
 Light out of darkness ! full of doubt I stand,
 Whether I should repent me now of sin
 475 By mee done and occasiond, or rejoyce
 Much more, that much more good thereof shall spring,
 To God more glory, more good will to Men
 From God, and over wrauth grace shall abound.
 But say, if our deliverer up to Heav'n
 480 Must reascend, what will betide the few
 His faithful, left among th' unfaithful herd,
 The enemies of truth ; who then shall guide
 His people, who defend ? will they not deale
 Worf with his followers then with him they dealt ?
 485 Be sure they will, said th' Angel ; but from Heav'n
 Hee to his own a Comforter will send,
 The promise of the Father, who shall dwell
 His Spirit within them, and the Law of Faith
 Working through love, upon thir hearts shall write,
 490 To guide them in all truth, and also arme
 With spiritual Armour, able to resist
 Satan's assaults, and quench his fierie darts,
 What man cando against them, not afraid,

Though

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. 473 stand,]] The comma is battered in all 1674 copies examined, but unmistakable. 476 more,that] So spaced in all 1674 copies examined. 484 Worf]] The 1674 compositor has followed 1667 copy too closely. 493 man] Man

Book XII. *Paradise Lost.* 329

- Though to the death, against such cruelties
 495 With inward consolations recompenc't,
 And oft supported so as shall amaze
 Thir proudest persecuters : for the Spirit
 Powrd first on his Apostles, whom he sends
 To evangelize the Nations, then on all
 500 Baptiz'd, shall them with wondrous gifts endue
 To speak all Tongues, and do all Miracles,
 As did thir Lord before them. Thus they win
 Great numbers of each Nation to receive
 With joy the tidings brought from Heav'n : at length
 505 Thir Ministry perform'd, and race well run,
 Thir doctrine and thir story written left,
 They die ; but in thir room, as they forewarne,
 Wolves shall succeed for teachers, grievous Wolves,
 Who all the sacred mysteries of Heav'n
 510 To thir own vile advantages shall turne
 Of lucre and ambition, and the truth
 With superstitions and traditions taint,
 Left onely in those written Records pure,
 Though not but by the Spirit understood.
 515 Then shall they seek to avail themselves of names,
 Places and titles, and with these to joine
 Secular power, though feigning still to act
 By spiritual, to themselves appropriating
 The Spirit of God, promisd alike and giv'n
 520 To all Beleevers ; and from that pretense,
 Spiritual Lawes by carnal power shall force
 On every conscience ; Laws which none shall finde
 Left them inround, or what the Spirit within
 Shall on the heart engrave. What will they then
 525 But force the Spirit of Grace it self, and binde
 His consort Libertie ; what, but unbuild

His

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. [504 length]] But about as many 1674 copies show a smear, probably from a bristle, following this word as show no mark at all. [510 thir]] Stressed?

330 **Paradise Lost.** Book XII.

His living Temples, built by Faith to stand,
Thir own Faith not anothers : for on Earth
Who against Faith and Conscience can be heard

530 Infallible? yet many will presume :
Whence heavie persecution shall arise
On all who in the worship persevere
Of Spirit and Truth ; the rest, farr greater part,

Well deem in outward Rites and specious formes

535 Religion satisfid ; Truth shall retire
Bestuck with slandrous darts, and works of Faith
Rarely be found : so shall the World goe on,
To good malignant, to bad men benigne,

Under her own waight groaning till the day

540 Appear of respiration to the just,
And vengeance to the wicked, at return
Of him so lately promiss'd to thy aid
The Womans seed, obscurely then foretold,

Now amplier known thy Saviour and thy Lord,

545 Last in the Clouds from Heav'n to be reveald

In glory of the Father, to dissolve

Satan with his perverted World, then raise

From the conflagrant mass, purg'd and refin'd,

New Heav'ns, new Earth, Ages of endles date

550 Founded in righteousness and peace and love
To bring forth fruits Joy and eternal Bliss.

He ended ; and thus *Adam* last reply'd.

How soon hath thy prediction, Seer blest,

Measur'd this transient World, the Race of time,

555 Till time stand fixt : beyond is all abyss,

Eternitie, whose end no eye can reach.

Greatly instructed I shall hence depart,

Greatly in peace of thought, and have my fill

Of knowledge, what this Vessel can containe ;

Beyond

Running Head. *Lost.*] The broken L of pages 249, 268, and 298. This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. 534 Well] Will I prefer the 1674 form; but who can tell exactly what Milton wanted here? 539 groaning] groaning, 542 aid] aid, 550 love] love, 559 Vessel] vessel

Book XII. *Paradise Lost.* 331

- 560 Beyond which was my folly to aspire.
 Henceforth I learne, that to obey is best,
 And love with fear the onely God, to walk
 As in his presence, ever to observe
 His providence, and on him sole depend,
 565 Mercifull over all his works, with good
 Still overcoming evil, and by small
 Accomplishing great things, by things deemd weak
 Subverting worldly strong, and worldly wise
 By simply meek; that suffering for Truths sake
 570 Is fortitude to highest victorie,
 And to the faithful Death the Gate of Life;
 Taught this by his example whom I now
 Acknowledge my Redeemer ever blest.
 To whom thus also th' Angel last repli'd :
 575 This having learnt, thou hast attaind the summe
 Of wisdome; hope no higher, though all the Starrs
 Thou knewst by name, and all th' ethereal Powers,
 All secrets of the deep, all Natures works,
 Or works of God in Heav'n, Aire, Earth, or Sea,
 580 And all the riches of this World enjoydft,
 And all the rule, one Empire; onely add
 Deeds to thy knowledge answerable, add Faith,
 Add vertue, Patience, Temperance, add Love,
 By name to come call'd Charitie, the soul
 585 Of all the rest: then wilt thou not be loath
 To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess
 A paradise within thee, happier farr.
 Let us descend now therefore from this top
 Of Speculation; for the hour precise
 590 Exacts our parting hence; and see the Guards,
 By mee encampt on yonder Hill, expect
 Thir motion, at whose Front a flaming Sword,

In

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. 562 fear] feare 565 Mercifull] Merciful
 576 wifdome;) wisdom; 579 Aire,) Air, 583 vertue,) Virtue, 587 paradife] Paradise

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- In signal of remove, waves fiercely round ;
 We may no longer stay : go, waken *Eve* ;
 595 Her also I with gentle Dreams have calm'd
 Portending good, and all her spirits compos'd
 To meek submission : thou at season fit
 Let her with thee partake what thou hast heard,
 Chiefly what may concern her Faith to know,
 600 The great deliverance by her Seed to come
 (For by the Womans Seed) on all Mankind.
 That ye may live, which will be many dayes,
 Both in one Faith unanimous though sad,
 With cause for evils past, yet much more cheer'd
 605 With meditation on the happie end.
- He ended, and they both descend the Hill ;
 Descended, *Adam* to the Bowre where *Eve*
 Lay sleeping ran before, but found her wak't ;
 And thus with words not sad she him receav'd.
- 610 Whence thou returnst, and whither wentst, I know ;
 For God is also in sleep, and Dreams advise,
 Which he hath sent propitious, some great good
 Presaging, since with sorrow and hearts distress
 Wearied I fell asleep : but now lead on ;
- 615 In mee is no delay ; with thee to goe,
 Is to stay here ; without thee here to stay,
 Is to go hence unwilling ; thou to mee
 Art all things under Heav'n, all places thou,
 Who for my wilful crime art banisht hence.
- 620 This further consolation yet secure
 I carry hence ; though all by mee is lost,
 Such favour I unworthie am voutsafte,
 By mee the Promis'd Seed shall all restore.
- So spake our Mother *Eve*, and *Adam* heard
 625 Well pleas'd, but answer'd not ; for now too nigh

Th' Arch-

Book XII. *Paradise Lost.* 333

Th' Archangel stood, and from the other Hill
 To thir fixt Station, all in bright array
 The Cherubim descended ; on the ground
 Gliding meteorous, as Ev'ning Mist
 630 Ris'n from a River o're the marshy glides,
 And gathers ground fast at the Labourers heel
 Homeward returning. High in Front advanc't,
 The brandish'd Sword of God before them blaz'd
 Fierce as a Comet ; which with torrid heat,
 635 And vapour as the *Libyan* Air adust,
 Began to parch that temperate Clime ; whereat
 In either hand the hastning Angel caught
 Our lingring Parents, and to th' Eastern Gate
 Led them direct, and down the Cliff as fast
 640 To the subjected Plaine ; then disappear'd.
 They looking back, all th' Eastern side beheld
 Of Paradise, so late thir happie seat,
 Wav'd over by that flaming Brand, the Gate
 With dreadful Faces throng'd and fierie Armes :
 645 Som natural tears they drop'd, but wip'd them soon ;
 The World was all before them, where to choose
 Thir place of rest, and Providence thir guide :
 They hand in hand with wandring steps and slow,
 Through *Eden* took thir solitarie way.

THE END.

Running Head. Loft.] The L is broken, see also pages 252, 288, and 317. Page Number. 333]
 The first 3 is broken in all copies examined. 627 thir]] Stressed?



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